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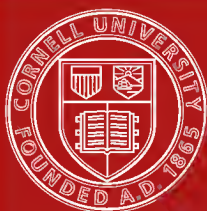
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LE COMTE DE PARIS.



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1886

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LE
COMTE DE PARIS

LONDON:
W. H. ALLEN & CO., 13, WATERLOO PLACE, S.W.
1889

LE
COMTE DE PARIS

BY
LE MARQUIS DE FLERS

TRANSLATED BY
CONSTANCE MAJENDIE

WITH PORTRAITS AND AUTOGRAPH

LONDON:
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P R E F A C E.

YEARS roll by, and each year finds France fallen from the rank to which she is entitled in Europe, and hurrying to her destruction. When will she stop on the downward path which leads to her ruin? We have confidence in her speedy deliverance, and are convinced that her future is bound up in the person of Mgr. le comte de Paris. The following pages are the result of this double conviction.

Up to the present time a few pamphlets have been published, but no book has been written which attempts to unite the various documents necessary to the thorough comprehension of so varied a life as that of Mgr. le comte de Paris. It is not sufficiently known how the whole conduct of the prince, whether in exile, or in the days—only too few—which he spent in France, has been actuated by the truest patriotism. Careless as our country is on this subject, it has, perhaps, not noticed the penetration, the clearness, the precision of the prince's intellect, the strength of his will, or the uprightness of his character, which (as has been well said) "is often more clever than cleverness itself."

We thought, therefore, that it might be well to tell the story of his life at the Tuileries, in England, in

America, at Eu and in Paris, to show how always, under all circumstances, he pursued the one great idea—France! The present time appeared to us most propitious for publishing these pages. Failing any other merits, this book will have that of rigorous exactness. We have confined ourselves entirely to *true* documents, and our conscience tells us that we have faithfully performed our task. Some gloomy critics, whose minds have been prejudiced, or who are ill-informed, may perhaps accuse us of being influenced by our respect and attachment. We shall certainly not attempt to defend ourselves, for such a criticism would fail to touch us, convinced as we are that we are well within the limits of truth and justice; for the rest we appeal to the judgment of all those who have the honour of knowing the prince. Belonging as we do to a family devoted from the last century to the house of Orléans, and admitted to the honour of frequent personal intercourse with Mgr. le comte de Paris, it is only natural that we should be deeply sensible of the great and solid qualities which distinguish him who will one day be Philip VII.

We do not mean to impose our ideas on the reader, but we hope to make him share them by the true narrative of incontestable facts, from which he will be able to draw his own conclusions. In former days the people cried “Ah, if only the king could know it!” now we say “Ah, if only the people knew him!”

But the eyes of the people will soon be opened. They will recall those kings, whose history for nine centuries is the history of the people, always bound up with them in good and evil fortune; they will

remember that Providence holds the future in its hands, and will distribute to kings and peoples rewards and punishments according to their merits or their faults. We must not then weary, or be discouraged in our efforts to show the people where salvation is to be found, until that long wished for day arrives when France, remembering that she is mistress of her own destinies, will throw off a tyrannical government. We have every confidence in the good sense which, sooner or later, will recognize the rank and prestige which she will recover in Europe by placing at the head of affairs the grandson of King Louis-Philippe, the chief of the House of France, who alone, by restoring order and liberty, can heal religious discords, and put an end to party dissensions. To the utmost of our small abilities, we shall have fulfilled the task which we set ourselves to do, if we can make our readers share our ardent conviction. An impartial writer has said "The royal race of France has shown this constant miracle of always producing the right king at the right moment." Soon this moment will arrive, and France will then remember the words of Mgr. le comte de Paris ; "At the decisive moment I shall be ready !"

PARIS, *October*, 1887.

CONTENTS.



CHAPTER I.

PAGE

1838-1858.

Marriage of H.R.H. the duc d'Orléans, prince royal, with H.R.H. princess Hélène de Mecklenburg-Schwerin (May the 30th, 1837) —Rejoicings on the occasion—The Palace of Versailles—Birth of H.R.H. the comte de Paris (August the 24th, 1838)—His childhood—Letters of Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans—Family life at the Tuileries—Birth of M. le duc de Chartres (Nov. the 9th, 1840)—Baptism of M. le comte de Paris (May the 2nd, 1841)—Death of Mgr. le duc d'Orléans (July the 13th, 1843)—Anecdotes of the duc d'Orléans, from Alexandre Dumas—The education of M. le comte de Paris and his brother—Letters of Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans about the young princes—Accident at Tréport (1844)—The revolution of February the 24th, 1848—Mme. la duchessed'Orléans at the Chamber of Deputies—Her departure from France with the young princes—Her words at Lille—At the Castle of Eisenach—Voyage to England (1849)—The law of exile of May the 26th, 1848—The first Communion of M. le comte de Paris, related by Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans (July the 20th, 1850)—Death of King Louis-Philippe (August the 26th, 1850) and of the Queen of the Belgians (October 10th, 1850)—Union of the royal family—The young princes at the Bridge of Kehl—The comte de Paris and the duc de Chartres visit the battlefields of Europe—Protest of the princes against the decrees of January the 22nd, 1852, depriving them of their property—Journey to England, 1853—Accident to Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans in Switzerland (1853)—The princes during the Crimean war (1854-1855)—Death of H.R.H. the duchesse d'Orléans in England (May the 18th, 1858) I

CHAPTER II.

1858-1870.

M. le comte de Paris travels in the East—Visits Jerusalem and Syria (1860)—Publication in England of the account of his travels—

The American Campaign (1861-1862)—The comte de Paris, and the duc de Chartres on the staff of Gen. McClellan—Siege and capture of Yorktown (April 4—May 4)—Battle of Williamsburg (May 5)—Battle of Fairs-Oak (May 31—June 1, 1862)—The seven days' retreat to James River—Battle of Malvern Hill—Battle of Gain's Mill (June 27)—The relations between the French and American Governments become strained—Resignation of the comte de Paris and the duc de Chartres—Return to Europe (July, 1862)—A letter from the prince de Joinville on the last engagements in which his nephews took part in America (Fort Monroe, July 1, 1862)—The opinion of Gen. McClellan on the princes during the American War—The literary work of the comte de Paris during his exile: "Damascus and Lebanon" (1861), published by Jeffs in London; Christmas week in Lancashire (*Revue des deux Mondes*, Feb. 1, 1863. Signed X. Raymond); Modern Germany (*Revue des deux Mondes*, Aug. 1, 1867); The State Church and the Free Church in Ireland (*Revue des deux Mondes*, May 15th, 1868)—The comte de Paris studies the question of the working classes at Manchester, and in several other English towns—His book on English Trades' Unions (1869)—The two princes publish the duc d'Orléans's Campaigns in Africa—The spirit of conquest, 1870 (*Courrier de la Gironde* of the 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 Dec. 1870)—Marriage of the comte de Paris with princess Isabella de Montpensier (May 30, 1864)—Fêtes on that occasion—Birth of H.R.H. princess Amélie (Sept. 28, 1865)—Death of Queen Marie-Amélie (March 24, 1866)—Journey of the comte de Paris to Spain (1867)—The prince takes up his residence at York House—Birth of H.R.H. the duc d'Orléans (Feb. 6, 1869)—Letter of the Orléans princes to the President of the Chamber of Deputies (June 19, 1870)—The petition of the princes is rejected—Letter from the comte de Paris to the comte de Kératres (July 4, 1870)—Letter from the comte de Paris to general comte Dumas (Aug. 20, 1870)—The Orléans princes during the war—Letter from the comte de Paris to general baron de Chaband Latour (Jan. 17, 1871) . . . 63

CHAPTER III.

1871-1873.

Abrogation of the laws of exile (June, 1871)—Birth of H.R.H. princess Hélène (June 8, 1871)—Return of the princes to France—The Manifesto of Chambord (July 5, 1871)—The Orléans princes in the French army—Bill presented by

Government for the restitution of the princes' property—The truth on the subject of this bill—Generosity of the princes towards France in giving half their fortune to the country—The comte de Paris takes up his residence in Paris with the duc d'Aumale—His receptions—His life in Paris—Excursions in France—Visits to different mines—First visit to Eu and to the Packham Mills—Excursions to Brittany, Normandy, and to Aix—The prince publishes his work on "The State of the Working Classes in England" (March, 1873)—He goes to Africa (May, 1873)—Fall of the Thiers ministry—MacMahon becomes President—The comte de Paris goes to Vienna (July, 1873)—The interview at Frohsdorf Aug. 5, 1873—Union of the two branches of the House of Bourbon—A union desired by Louis-Philippe, and announced by M. Guizot in 1850—The Orléans princes at the comte de Chambord's (September and October, 1873)—Great excitement throughout France—Manœuvres of the republicans to stem the royalist tide—The judgment of the comte de Chambord on the comte de Paris—The comte de Chambord and the royalist deputies—Anecdotes : the comte de Chambord in Bavaria—Prince Napoleon on the restoration of the monarchy—The letter of the comte de Chambord, Oct. 27, 1873—Check to the law to re-establish monarchy—The comte de Chambord at Versailles (Nov., 1873) Extension of the powers of Marshal McMahon—Death of prince Ferdinand, brother of the comtesse de Paris (December, 1873)	117
---	-----

CHAPTER IV.

1874-1882.

Interview between the comte de Paris and the Czar Alexander II. in England (1874)—Birth of prince Charles, son of the comte de Paris—His death, aged six months (June 7, 1875)—Interment at Dreux of the remains of Louis-Philippe and other members of the royal family (June 8, 1876)—The comte de Paris accompanies his brother and his uncles to the grand manœuvres at Dreux (1876)—Marriage of princess Mercédès, sister of the comtesse de Paris, to Alphonso XII., King of Spain (Jan. 23, 1878)—Death of the young Queen (June 26, 1878)—Letters of the comte de Paris to the comte Sérurier—Birth, at Eu, of H.R.H. princess Isabelle, third daughter of the comte de Paris (May 7, 1878)—Birth, at Eu, of prince Jacques, second son of the comte de Paris (July 11, 1880) and his death (Jan. 22, 1881)—Birth, at Cannes, of H.R.H. the princess Louise, fourth daughter of the comte de Paris (Feb. 24, 1882)

	PAGE
—Visit of the comte de Paris to M. Victor de Laprade at Cannes (April, 1882)—The young duc d'Orléans at the Collège Stanislas—The comte de Paris at the grand manœuvres—He goes to Rome incognito—His interview with Pope Leo XIII. (Sept. 1882)—Generosity and bounty of the comte de Paris and the comtesse de Paris to the inhabitants of Eu and Tréport—Life of the comte de Paris at the Castle of Eu . . .	173

CHAPTER V.

1883.

Discussion in 1883 in the Chamber and the Senate of M. Floquet's bill for the exile of the Orléanist and Bonapartist princes—The Senate throws out the bill, by a majority of five—The princes are deprived of their rank in the French army (Feb. 1883)—Visit of the comte de Paris to the duc d'Aumale in Sicily ; he goes to see the ruins of Pæstum, Ségeste, Sélinonte, and the Church of Montreal, near Palermo, Naples, and Pompeii (April, 1883)—First Communion of H.R.H. the princess Hélène at Eu—Illness of the comte de Chambord—The comte de Paris, the duc de Nemours, and the duc d'Alençon go to Vienna (July 2)—Interview of the princes with the comte de Chambord (July 7)—Return of the princes to France—Success of the duc d'Orléans at the Collège Stanislas—Death of the comte de Chambord (August 24, 1883)—Departure of the Orléans princes for Frohsdorf—The funeral ceremony at Frohsdorf—The comte de Paris informs all the powers of the death of the comte de Chambord—Return of the comte de Paris to France—Obsequies of the comte de Chambord at Göritz (Sept. 3, 1883)—An exact account of what passed there—Unity of the royalist party—Receptions of M. le comte de Paris at Eu—Publication of the 5th and 6th vols. of the comte de Paris's History of the Civil War in America . . .	187
--	-----

CHAPTER VI.

1884-1885.

The comte de Paris goes to Spain (Jan. 1884)—Attempt on his life discovered at Lyons (Jan. 1884)—The comte and comtesse de Paris attend the obsequies of the duke of Albany at Cannes (April 2, 1884)—The comte de Paris sends 50,000 francs to the victims of the cholera at Marseilles by the hand of the duc de	
--	--

Chartres—Visit of the count and countess of Flanders to Eu (July 22, 1884)—The comte de Paris, and the duc d'Orléans at a fire at Tréport (Aug. 1884)—Service at Eu to commemorate the death of the comte de Chambord (Aug. 24, 1884)—Letter from the comte de Paris to the comte de Laubespin on the death of his nephew, baron de Lespérut—Birth at Eu of H.R.H. prince Ferdinand, second son of the comte de Paris (Sept. 9, 1884)—Pope Leo XIII. sends his blessing to the infant prince, and to the comtesse de Paris—The comte de Paris sends 10,000 francs to the St. Peter's pence—He sends a subscription to the collection in aid of the chaplains of the Paris hospitals (Feb. 16, 1885)—Benediction of the statue of Notre Dame du Tréport (Aug. 23, 1885)—The archbishop at the castle of Eu—Marriage at Eu of H.R.H. princess Marie de Chartres with H.R.H. prince Waldemar, son of the King of Denmark (Oct. 22, 1885)—Mass for the soul of Alphonso XII. at St. François Xavier, in Paris (Dec. 6, 1885)—The comte and comtesse de Paris stand sponsors to the tenth child of H.R.H. the comte de Caserta, brother of H.M. the King of Naples (Dec. 20, 1885)	224
---	-----

CHAPTER VII.

JANUARY—JUNE, 1886.

Telegram from the comte de Paris to the comte de Blois, nephew of the comte de Falloux, on the death of his uncle (January 10th, 1886)—The comte de Paris and the duc de Bragance at the French Academy—The King and Queen of Portugal demand the hand of princess Amélie for the duc de Bragance—The comtesse de Paris goes to Madrid for the marriage of her brother, prince Antoine, with princess Eulalie, sister of Alphonso XII.—Visit of the comte de Paris to the agricultural meeting at the palais de l'Industrie—Departure of the prince to Cannes, March, 1886—Telegram announcing to the comte de Paris the death of the comtesse de Chambord, March 25th, 1886—He returns to Paris—He gives a grand reception in the rue de Varenne on the occasion of his daughter's marriage (May 15th, 1886)—Remarks of the Republican papers—Attempts are made to bring about the expulsion of the princes—Embarrassment of the Government—Princess Amélie bids farewell to Eu, and goes to Portugal (May 17th)—Enthusiastic reception at all the stations <i>en route</i> —Marriage of the princess at Lisbon (May 22nd, 1886)—Fêtes at Lisbon	242
---	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

JUNE—DECEMBER, 1886.

	PAGE
Return of the comte and comtesse de Paris to Eu—Government decides to demand from the Chambers the expulsion of the heads of those families which have reigned in France—Letter from the comte de Paris to an editor in Philadelphia—Conversation with M. de Blowitz, the <i>Times</i> correspondent—Telegram of sympathy from the American officers to the comte de Paris (June, 1886)—The bill of exile is discussed and carried in the Chamber and Senate—Measures taken by Government at Eu and at Tréport—Last receptions at Eu—Dangerous illness of princess Louise at Eu—Touching farewells, June 24th, 1886—Departure of the comte de Paris and the duc d'Orléans—Immense crowd and deep sorrow of inhabitants at Eu and Tréport—The prince embarks on board the <i>Victoria</i> , and salutes the tricolor flag—Arrival at Dover—The comtesse de Paris returns the same night to princess Louise—Protest of the comte de Paris—Instruction of the comte de Paris to the monarchists in France—Conclusion	281

ILLUSTRATIONS.

—♦—	
M ^{sr} le comte de Paris	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece</i>	
Madame la comtesse de Paris	<i>to face</i> 104
S. A. R. Philippe duc d'Orléans	130
S. A. R. la princesse Hélène	192
LL. AA. RR. les princesses Isabelle, Louise, et le prince Ferdinand	236
S. A. R. la princesse Amélie duchesse de Bragance	280
Facsimile of the Protest of June 24, 1886	358

LE COMTE DE PARIS.

CHAPTER I.

1838-1858.

Marriage of H.R.H. the duc d'Orléans, prince royal, with H.R.H. princess Hélène de Mecklenburg-Schwerin (May the 30th, 1837)—Rejoicings on the occasion—The Palace of Versailles—Birth of H.R.H. the comte de Paris (August the 24th, 1838)—His childhood—Letters of Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans—Family life at the Tuileries—Birth of M. le duc de Chartres (Nov. the 9th, 1840)—Baptism of M. le comte de Paris (May the 2nd, 1841)—Death of Mgr. le duc d'Orléans (July the 13th, 1842)—Anecdotes of the duc d'Orléans, from Alexander Dumas—The education of M. le comte de Paris and his brother—Letters of Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans about the young princes—Accident at Tréport (1844)—The revolution of February the 24th, 1848—Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans at the Chamber of Deputies—Her departure from France with the young princes—Her words at Lille—At the Castle of Eisenach—Voyage to England (1849)—The law of exile of May the 26th, 1848—The first Communion of M. le comte de Paris, related by Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans (July the 20th, 1850)—Death of King Louis-Philippe (August the 26th, 1850) and of the Queen of the Belgians (October 10th, 1850)—Union of the royal family—the young princes at the Bridge of Kehl—The comte de Paris and the duc de Chartres visit the battlefields of Europe—Protest of the princes against the decrees of January the 22nd, 1852, depriving them of their property—Journey to England, 1853—Accident to Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans in Switzerland (1853)—The princes during the Crimean war (1854-1855)—Death of H.R.H. the duchesse d'Orléans in England (May the 18th, 1858).

ON the 15th of April, 1837, Count Molé was entrusted by King Louis-Philippe with the formation of a

Cabinet. Two days after the Ministry had been formed the new President of the Council announced to the Chambers the marriage of the Prince Royal, the duc d'Orléans, with H.R.H. the Princess Hélène of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. Count Bresson had successfully conducted the negotiations, notwithstanding the numerous obstacles which certain Courts had raised to prevent the marriage. The duc de Broglie had been sent as ambassador extraordinary to escort the Princess to France.

On the 15th of May the Princess Hélène left Ludwigslust to join her royal *fiancé*. She was accompanied by her stepmother, the Grand-Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, a woman of superior intellect, who loved her as a mother, and had devoted herself to her education since the death of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin.

On the 22nd of May the princess met the special embassy under the duc de Broglie at Fulda, and her journey through France was one long triumph. On the 29th of May, at five o'clock in the evening, she arrived at the Palace of Fontainebleau, where the King Louis-Philippe, the Queen Marie-Amélie, the princes and princesses were waiting for her. The duc d'Orléans received her at the foot of the staircase, and took her up to the King. As she was bending down to kiss his hand he took her in his arms and embraced her affectionately. In this first interview with the royal family she won all hearts by her charm of manner, her simplicity, dignity and modesty.

The next day, May the 30th, the civil marriage was performed by Baron Pasquier, whom the king had

just made Chancellor of France. Mgr. Gallard, Bishop of Meaux, then gave the nuptial benediction, according to the rites of the Catholic Church, in the Chapel of Henry II., and the Lutheran ceremony was performed, in the Hall of Louis-Philippe, by M. Cuvier, Protestant pastor of the Lutheran Church.

During the last two centuries, festivities on a grand scale had taken place at Fontainebleau, on the occasion of royal marriages. César, duc de Vendôme, had here married Gabrielle de Lorraine; Louis XIV. had brought his young bride, Marie-Thérèse, here, after their marriage at St.-Jean-de-Luz; the King of Spain, Charles II. (who in the year 1700 bequeathed all his kingdoms to Philippe V., grandson of Louis XIV.), was here married by proxy to Marie-Louise d'Orléans, niece of Louis XIV.; Louis XV. celebrated his marriage with the good and virtuous Marie Leczinska; and lastly, Louis XVIII. came here to receive the duchesse de Berry.

The festivities which followed the wedding were magnificent, for the duc d'Orléans was so beloved and popular that the rejoicing was universal. The prince royal gave on this occasion 500,000 francs to be distributed to the poor and to various charities. Among the festivities, which were continued for a fortnight, we must mention the opening of the galleries in the Palace of Versailles, the restoration of which was due to Louis-Philippe. During the revolution of 1793, the palace had been stripped of all its furniture and objets d'art. Napoleon I. and Louis XVIII. had shrunk from incurring the expense of its restoration, so that some parts of the palace had fallen into decay, and the court-yards were actually overgrown with grass. In

1833 the king began the work of restoration, and by directing and superintending the works himself he so encouraged and influenced the workmen, painters, and sculptors, that on the 18th of June, 1837, the palace was ready to receive the 1,500 guests—the élite of France—who were invited to partake of the royal hospitalities on the occasion of the marriage of Mgr. le duc d'Orléans. The total cost of this splendid and judicious restoration of the palace which had belonged to Louis XIV., which was completed towards the end of Louis-Philippe's reign, was 23,494,000 francs, and it will always remain one of the grandest monuments of King Louis-Philippe.

The representatives of the oldest families, and the members of the most modern society, were assembled at Versailles—"for the royalty of the present day opens its doors to merit as well as to birth; to those who have raised themselves by their own exertions, as well as to the representatives of old France, the heirs of her grand names and noble associations. Royalty loves to be surrounded by those who are an honour to their country."

The duc d'Orléans took an especial interest in the arts, sciences, and literature of France; and at the time of his marriage he asked the King, his father, to give him as a wedding present the power of disposing of four crosses of the Légion d'Honneur, one of "Commandeur" for the savant Arago, one of "Officier" for Victor Hugo, and two crosses of "Chevalier"—one for the historian Augustin Thierry, the other for the great and already celebrated novelist, Alexandre Dumas. The five years which followed

her marriage were the happiest of the only too short life of Madame la duchesse d'Orléans. The homage which she received was due not only to the high rank which she occupied, but to her eminent qualities, which were daily more appreciated. She took the keenest interest in everything that related to France, in every literary movement, as well as in public events; and she delighted in joining in the appreciative welcome the duc d'Orléans extended to the distinguished artists, authors, and great thinkers of the day. She possessed the qualities so indispensable to a princess—extreme affability and perfect tact; and her many indescribable charms of mind and body won for her the devotion of the prince royal.

The duc d'Orléans was born at Palermo in the year 1810, and was 27 years of age when he married the princess Hélène. At the time of the second Restoration, when he was presented by his father to Louis XVIII., the King exclaimed, "Here is a fine fellow. What shall we do with him?" "You must make a soldier of me," answered the little duc de Chartres. "But, Monsieur le Militaire, what will you do with a great big sabre, larger than yourself?" "I shall hold it with both hands, until I have grown larger than it." The King was highly amused by this repartee.

When he was 9 years old he went to the College of Henry IV., and readily submitted to the ordinary discipline, placing himself on the same footing as other boys with regard to rewards and punishments. After passing a brilliant examination at the Ecole Polytechnique, he became colonel of the First Regiment of Hussars in 1830; in 1832, during the siege of Ant-

werp, he commanded one of the divisions of the army, and three years later he shared the dangers and privations of the campaign in Algiers.

On the 24th of August, 1838, H.R.H. the duchesse d'Orléans gave birth to a son, to whom King Louis-Philippe gave the title of the Comte de Paris—a title which had been borne by the founders of his race, Robert-le-Fort and his son the comte Eudes (who defended Paris so valiantly against the Normans in 885), but which had since become extinct.

It was about 3 o'clock in the afternoon that M. le comte Molé, president of the Council of Ministers, left the room of Madame la duchesse d'Orléans, exclaiming "A prince is born to us!" His words were received with repeated shouts of "Vive le Roi!" and a salute of 101 guns announced to the people of Paris the birth of a prince. That same day the Archbishop of Paris baptised the infant prince privately in the chapel of the palace, and the various representatives of the foreign powers went to the Tuileries to offer their congratulations to the King.

Hardly was the news of the accouchement of the duchesse d'Orléans known in Paris before it made at any rate one man happy.

A soldier named Biscarat, a native of Auvergne, was brought before the Council of War in Paris, accused of insubordination, and was about to be condemned. His counsel, who knew that the confinement of the duchesse d'Orléans had been expected at 8 o'clock that morning, had exhausted every form and artifice that oratory could invent, in order to gain time, when suddenly the twenty-second gun announced to

Paris and to France the birth of a prince. "Gentlemen," he exclaimed, "my defence is finished. That twenty-second gun is the best argument in favour of the prisoner. The entire nation rejoices; do not cast a gloom on so glorious a day." He sat down, the question was put to the vote, and the council of war acquitted the poor soldier, who, in the exuberance of his feelings, could not refrain from shouting "Vive le Roi!" The rejoicing of the royal family at the birth of the infant prince was shared by the whole of France.

Life now passed happily and peacefully for the duchesse d'Orléans; every Sunday in winter the duc d'Orléans accompanied the Queen to High Mass at St. Roche, and was always very regular in discharging this filial duty. In the summer the Prince Royal generally stayed at the little castle of Villiers, in the park of Neuilly, where the King, the Queen, and the royal princes resided. The lovely warm evenings were usually spent on the water, and they often went as far as St. Cloud: the young princes, the duc d'Aumale and the duc de Montpensier, amused themselves with fireworks, and when the King remonstrated, for fear the lawns and flower-beds should be spoilt, they said that they did it to amuse their sister Hélène, and the King accepted the excuse with a smile, for he was very fond of his daughter-in-law. The duchesse d'Orleans was passionately attached to her husband, who was always most attentive to her, watching over her health, taking an interest in her toilette, and going himself into the garden at Villiers to gather her favourite flowers. The princess was wonderfully

modest, and when any one admired her learning or her talents, she would say, "Yes, I am a savante who does not know even the rudiments of science, Greek or Latin." She was so liberal in her charities that she was often in want of ready money.

The happiness of the royal family was then at its zenith, and the King Louis-Philippe was universally popular, for the people delighted in his simplicity. One day he bled a postilion who had fallen from his horse. "He never," says Victor Hugo, "went without his lancet any more than Henry III. without his dagger; but the royalists laughed at this King—the first who had ever shed blood in order to heal!"

The King used frequently to stop in front of the cradle in which M. le comte de Paris was lying asleep, and when the child, seeming to understand his grandfather's devotion, awoke and stretched out his arms to him, the King's delight was unbounded. In 1839 the duc d'Orléans was obliged to go to Africa in the discharge of his military duties; his departure was a great grief to the duchess, but she never for a moment thought of urging him to stay; during his absence she, with the King's sanction, lived a rather more retired life. The Queen Marie-Amélie and the princesses often went to see her, and found her always beside the cradle of her son, whom she left as seldom as possible. Each day she seemed to rise higher in public estimation on account of her piety and the firmness of her principles, and the King and Queen had the utmost confidence in her. It was she who composed the first short prayers which her children said,

and while she went every Sunday to the Lutheran Church, the Queen Marie-Amélie took the young comte de Paris to Mass, and, on his return, he read and learnt the infantine prayers that his mother had written for him. To quote her own words: "The minds of children seem to open more easily when one is alone with them. I try to be as much as possible alone with my son. To-day I brought him back from Neuilly; he fell asleep in my arms, I put him to bed and did everything for him. You should have seen how sweet and affectionate he was! Oh! how happy a mother must be in the lower classes!"

When the duc d'Orléans came back from Algiers, the princess once more enjoyed the pleasures of family life, which, to her, were greater than any others. She wrote, in June, 1840:—

"Here is my friend, my protector, my life come back to my home; his absence seems like a long dream. Yesterday was a glorious day, only to be compared to the birthday of Paris, and my heart was overflowing with gratitude and joy. First, there were some visitors, then we were left alone together for a short time. The little one was in my bedroom, the door was opened, and he came in rather frightened. However, he gave his hand to his father, who thought that he had grown. After the various members of the family had left us, we had a *tête-à-tête* dinner, our child trotting about singing, laughing, and delighting the heart of his father, who, however, would not show it. We had a delightful evening all to ourselves, and talked over everything!"

Sometimes in the evenings she left the Queen's

tea-table, and went to the room of the little comte de Paris, where she amused herself with his infant prattlings until she had put him to sleep by singing some ballad. Then she went into the adjoining sitting-room, and wrote to her friends and relations in Germany, or she sat down to the piano and played the symphonies of Beethoven, for whose genius she had the highest admiration.

On the 9th of November, 1840, Madame la duchesse d'Orléans gave birth to a second son, Robert duc de Chartres. A short time before this event she had insisted on nursing the comte de Paris through an attack of measles, and had caught the disease herself; the young prince had had it very mildly, but for a short time the royal family had been extremely anxious about the princess.

The calm of this quiet, happy life was at this time interrupted by an attempt that was made on the life of the King. The duchesse d'Orléans, writing on the subject, says:—"Providence has protected us in the most wonderful manner. The King, the Queen, my aunts, and all those who were with them, have been spared, and one sees, for the eighth time, how these infernal attempts upon so precious a life are destined to be baffled. After the first moment, the horror which such a crime must inspire was effaced by the sense of God's great mercy; my soul was filled with gratitude to Him, and I felt that I could not sufficiently bless and thank Him who had delivered us from so terrible a calamity. We started at once for St. Cloud to join the rest of the family, and when I saw the King and embraced him with deepest emotion, I felt still

more vividly the goodness of God in preserving him to us. We went to hear the Te Deum in the Chapel of the Castle, and you can fancy with what heartfelt joy I entered into it."

Again, when she had received the news of another such attempt, she rushed into the room where the comte de Paris was having a lesson, and said :—" Go down on your knees, and thank God with me."

At 11 o'clock on Sunday, May the 2nd, 1841, the baptism of H.R.H. the comte de Paris took place. A salvo of artillery announced the arrival at Notre Dame of the King Louis-Philippe and all the royal family, who were going to take part in the ceremony. The King of the Belgians, the duc Alexandre de Wurtemberg, the duc d'Orléans, the prince de Joinville, and the duc de Montpensier were with the King.

The baptismal font was placed between the altar and a canopy of gold and crimson velvet, under which the royal family was grouped. In front of the canopy was stretched some magnificent gobelins tapestry ; groups of tricolor flags represented the thirteen legions of the national guard, and every pillar in the Church was decorated with an escutcheon of gilded laurel leaves, bearing the arms and cipher of the Comte de Paris.

The doorway, at which the Archbishop of Paris and the assistant-bishops received the royal *cortége*, was decorated in the style of the thirteenth century, and thousands of wax candles, placed in long rows, stretching from the principal entrance of the Cathedral up to the high altar, shed their light on this splendid scene.

All eyes were fixed on Madame la duchesse d'Orléans, who was leading her eldest son, M. le comte de Paris, dressed in white, his clever, intelligent face expressing slight agitation. The ministers, the diplomatic body, the marshals of France, the Chamber of Peers, the Chamber of Deputies, all the governing bodies, were represented at Notre Dame. Surrounded by many bishops and countless clergy, the archbishop chanted the "Veni Creator." Then followed the ceremony of baptism, the King being godfather and the Queen godmother.

The archbishop and the clergy then escorted the King in procession to the entrance, and at 1 o'clock, amidst the cheers of the crowd, the King, M. le comte de Paris, and the princes arrived at the Tuileries. The same day the comte de Rambuteau, prefect of the Seine, introduced the Municipal Council to the young prince, and offered to the King the congratulations of his faithful and devoted people. He then in the name of the city of Paris presented the comte de Paris with a sword.

"Behold," said he, "the child who will one day reign over our children! The city, whose name your Majesty desired should be his, is anxious that he should retain some memorial of the happiness caused by his birth, and by the choice of her name. She begs, sire, to offer him this sword. The city presents it to him for the service of the country, and when the time comes for him to wear it, there will not be wanting examples of how he should use it. He can trace his ancestry to a remote period, but he need not go so far to look for a model. To him

it will be easy to be just and powerful. Happy child! whose career will have been smoothed by so much wisdom, and who will always have such great and noble counsels at his side to guide him! Sire, deign to permit the comte de Paris to accept the sword of the town of Paris, and may this offering be always a type of union between the prince and the city!"

The King, in accepting the sword in the name of the young prince, finished his reply with these words:

"Heaven grant that my grandson be not called upon to use it; but if the time should come for him to unsheath it, it will only be in a good cause, and to defend the honour of France and the independence of the nation. However, I have every ground for hoping that the end for which I have struggled will be attained, and that the reign of my grandson will not be troubled by war, but will be crowned with a happier glory—that of confirming the peace and prosperity of France!"

The King, taking the little comte de Paris by the hand (he was hardly three years old), said to him: "Give your hand to the prefect of the Seine, as a token that you give it to the whole city of Paris."

The prince advanced towards the comte de Rambuteau, amidst ringing cheers and cries of "Long live the King" from all the municipal councillors.

The duc d'Orléans gave 10,000 francs to the archbishop to be distributed among the poor parents of those children who, on the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of May, should be baptised in the various parishes in Paris. He also presented the prelate with a costly mitre, and

the King sent the archbishop a cross and a pastoral ring of diamonds.

In the evening splendid fireworks took place on the Pont de la Concorde, and along the Boulevards, which were brilliantly illuminated.

Madame la duchesse d'Orléans, in writing of the events of this day (May the 2nd, 1841), says :

“ Nothing could have been more beautiful than yesterday's *fête*, nothing more affecting than the sight of my pure little angel presented at the altar, and nothing more deeply touching to the poor mother's heart than this moment. I may have been mistaken, but I thought I saw an expression of real affection for the little one on the faces of all present.”

But the days of happiness were to be cut short. M. le comte de Paris was hardly four years old when one of those catastrophes which God sends to try a nation, deprived him of his father.

On the 13th of July, 1842, the duc d'Orléans started to inspect the regiments at the camp of St. Omer. He was anxious to go to Neuilly to pay a farewell visit to the King and Queen, and left the Tuileries at 11 o'clock. From the first the postilion had had the greatest difficulty in managing his horses ; but the rest shall be told in the words of M. Jules Janin, who gives us a most touching and interesting account of the accident in a little book containing the life of the eldest son of King Louis-Philippe :—

“ By one of those cruel fatalities which are only remembered after the accident, the groom of M. le duc d'Orléans had complained that very morning of the near horse, saying that he would not be answerable

for the life of the prince with such an animal ; but the only notice they took of this remark was to ask him whether he were afraid. However, this is only one of those after-thoughts to which one clings in trying to explain accidents, otherwise inexplicable. The horses went as usual as far as the *barrière de l'Etoile*. Several people recognised the prince, and bowed to him. He was alone, and seemed in the highest health and spirits ; indeed, that very morning he had said, with the pardonable pride of a man who feels within himself all the strength and energy of 30, that he had never felt better or happier. Suddenly the horses took fright and bolted. In a minute they were through the *Porte Maillot* and were galloping along the avenue leading to the Castle of Villiers, one of the *dépendances* of Neuilly, when suddenly they were stopped and turned into a side road.

“No one knows what then happened ; whether the prince, afraid of being dashed against the fortifications, jumped out of the carriage, or whether he was thrown out by some violent shock. Whatever the cause, the result was fatal, and the prince was dashed on to the paving stones. Not a word, not a cry, not a movement ; only the corpse of a young man of 32, which was picked up by some workmen passing by. ‘What a pity,’ said they ; ‘such a fine young fellow !’ A gendarme told them that it was H.R.H. the duc d’Orléans, and ran to the Castle of Neuilly with the news of the fearful accident.

“Such was the admirable good sense of those Frenchmen, that they decided to carry the prince royal to a small shop, kept by a Frenchman, rather than to the

hospitable mansion of Lord Seymour. 'It is not right,' said they, 'that a French prince should die in the house of an Englishman.'

"Meanwhile at Neuilly the King was taking leave of the Queen, and preparing to start for the Tuileries, hoping to arrive in Paris in time to see his eldest son once more before his departure. Suddenly in this calm, happy household there fell like a thunder-bolt the report, which was the precursor of such fatal news. What agony for the King and Queen to hear that the prince royal, their fondly-loved child, was there—at their very door—dying! When they began to realize what it meant, they were beside themselves with grief: wandering about bare-headed, unable to shed a tear, hardly knowing where they were going to, they arrived at the little inn, which in former days they had hardly noticed, and threw themselves on their knees beside the straw pallet on which all that remained of their son was stretched. Let those who have the heart describe the scene of mourning and woe; those who were eye-witnesses cannot, dare not, tell of that silence, only broken by lamentations, sobs, tears, and agonized prayers. If the historian who wished to enter into the details of this overwhelming sorrow had questioned them, they would have replied—Do not ask us—we saw, we heard, we remembered nothing. But it was the proprietor of the humble tavern himself, who was most overcome by the astonishing events happening round him. When he saw those apparitions of Kings and Queens weeping as though their hearts would break, when his smoky parlour re-echoed with the grand names of all those royalties in such affliction, he

must have exclaimed—‘Have all these people mistaken my cabin for the Castle of Neuilly?’ No, this cabin was not the Castle of Neuilly, but it was destined to be a mortuary chapel, and the mean bed was to be an altar. Each moment brought the scattered members of the royal family hurrying to the death-bed : Mme. Adélaïde, Mme. la princesse Clémentine, M. le duc de Montpensier who came from Vincennes, M. le duc d’Aumale who arrived from Courbevoie. When the news was brought to M. le duc d’Aumale he was in the fencing-school with his foil in his hand ; he seemed for the first instant to be overwhelmed with grief and horror ; then starting at random the young prince dashed along the road to Neuilly. A cab was coming from Paris, the horse was done, and the cabman refused to turn back for the prince. ‘Nonsense,’ said he, ‘you must take me to my brother, he is dying.’ With these words he seized the reins, the coachman whipped up his horse, and they had nearly got to the house when the horse fell, the cab was smashed, and the prince was thrown on to the pavement ; he jumped up, and rushed to the bedside of the duc d’Orléans. ‘My dear, dear brother ! Oh ! Joinville, what news ? Oh ! Nemours, where are you ?’ But the sobs of the bystanders were the only answers to these heartrending cries.

“M. le duc d’Orléans had never recognized any one, not even his mother ; all that was left in him of his strong vigorous life was struggling with death—a terrible, indescribable, awful struggle ! It seemed as if life could not quit that mangled body, nor the shattered brain lose its vitality ; a loud and fearful death-rattle

was heard in his gasping chest, and his hands, which still moved convulsively, were bathed with the tears of the Queen and the princesses, who were praying passionately round his bed. The King had risen from his knees, and was standing with his hand on his son's head, giving him his last heartfelt blessing. The doctors (who did not relax their efforts, though they despaired of science being able to do anything for the dying man) were the energetic, clever, and devoted Dr. Vincent Duval, and Dr. Pasquier the prince's surgeon and friend—for, we may, indeed, call him a friend—who seemed confused and overcome by this sudden and miserable catastrophe. But all was in vain. Providence refused to grant the many fervent prayers, and all the doctors' efforts were but tortures inflicted on the poor mangled body. When the King saw that there was absolutely no hope, he sent for the duchesse de Nemours, whom, in his fatherly forethought, he had kept away from so terrible a sight ; at the same time the clergy of Neuilly arrived, and the Queen, whose only trust was now in God, turned all her thoughts to the consolations of religion, invoking the aid of St. Rosalie de Palerme, her patron saint. For four hours the death agony lasted, but at last Heaven had pity—not on those who were weeping—but on the young man stretched on his death-bed : the convulsions subsided, the death-rattle ceased, and the prince royal gave up his pure and blameless soul into the hands of God. The King drew the Queen into the next room where the marshals of France and the ministers were assembled ; no one spoke, for such a sorrow was best expressed by utter silence.

“The body of the prince was placed on a stretcher, and the non-commissioned officers of the 17th Regiment of Light Infantry were permitted to carry this precious burden to the Chapel of Neuilly. By a sad and curious coincidence there were with them the soldiers of the 25th, the soldiers of the Portes-de-Fer, and of the heights of Mouzaia, the men who had presented their young general with the triumphal palm of Bibans. Weep, soldiers weep, for your young captain; weep for the Chief who loved you; weep for the impetuous spirit and brilliant courage which led you on to victory! But what will be the horror of the army in Africa when the mournful news spreads from Algiers to Constantine, ‘The duc d’Orléans is dead!’

“A white mantle had been thrown over the dead body as in the case of a general who has died while on duty. The King and Queen, Mme. la princesse Adélaïde, Mme. la duchesse de Nemours, Mme. la princesse Clémentine, M. le duc d’Aumale, M. le duc de Montpensier followed the funeral procession on foot; then came M. le Maréchal Soult, the ministers, M. le Maréchal Gérard, the general officers, the officers of the King and princes; and then the weeping, silent, mournful crowd. Surely this sorrowful procession of relations and royal personages, moving with slow and mournful steps along the avenue of Sablonville, must have recalled to the mind of the spectator one of the visions of Dante! In this order they entered the park at Neuilly; the Chapel was already open. This Chapel had been the happy sanctuary of the family, and, until to-day, had only resounded with prayer and praise; even when the prin-

cesse Marie had died, her body had not been laid on those stones ; but to-day the Chapel is full of woe and consternation, as the corpse of the first-born of the family is laid there.

“ At 9 o'clock in the evening, Mme. la duchesse de Nemours and Mme. la princesse Clémentine started for Plombières to convey the fearful news to the duchesse d'Orléans. On the 14th of July, at 6 o'clock in the evening, she was told, by way of breaking the news gently to her, that the prince royal was dangerously ill ; she left Plombières at 8 o'clock, and arrived at Epinal at midnight ; at 1 o'clock in the morning, Mme. de Montesquieu, her maid of honour, was afraid that a public demonstration would make the princess understand the full extent of her misery. The courier announced that a carriage was arriving from Paris. ‘ Open the door quickly ! ’ cried Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans ; then the Court physician, Dr. Chomel, was seen advancing towards her ; he could not conceal the truth, and when the unfortunate princess heard it, she remained for more than an hour on the high road in the dark, sobbing and weeping, while all those present were vainly trying to master their own grief.

“ At 4 o'clock on the morning of the 15th of July, Mme. la duchesse de Nemours, and Mme. la princesse Clémentine joined her ; they threw themselves, without a word, into her arms, and placed themselves beside her, weeping bitterly.

“ At 9 o'clock, on the morning of the 19th, after two long, cruel nights they arrived at Neuilly, where M. le comte de Paris, and M. le duc de Chartres had

arrived the day before from Eu. When Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans appeared in the midst of the royal family, their grief was such that no one was able to tell her the circumstances of the fatal accident, for there are some afflictions so terrible that words fail to describe them. The King and Queen led the way to the Chapel, in which were laid the remains of the prince royal, and Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans, taking her two children by the hand, knelt down and prayed fervently ; she then retired to her apartments to put on the widow's dress, which she was to wear till her death."

The loss of M. le duc d'Orléans saddened and embittered the last years of the King, who, though he had gone through every sort of peril himself, was only affected by his children's misfortunes. " If only it had been me," he had exclaimed, as he clasped the fainting form of his son in his arms. That awful 13th of July had left its traces, too, on the heart of the Queen, whose first thought had been for her country. " What a terrible misfortune for France ! " The misfortune was indeed terrible, as the country would have good reason to know. Throughout all ranks and classes of society, the deep feeling that was evinced, especially at the funeral, testified to the popularity of the prince royal. The soldiers could hardly restrain their tears on seeing the lifeless body of the brave general who had led them through the siege of Antwerp and the campaign in Africa, and by whose death they were deprived, not only of an able, courageous commander, but of a friend and protector.

The 2nd and 17th regiments of light infantry, who

had just arrived from Africa, and who had followed him as he steadily advanced under the hottest fire of the Arabs to storm the path of Mouzaïa and the Portes-de-Fer, hung their heads in grief, as they presented arms to him for the last time.

The people, who crowded round the entrance to Notre Dame, reminded one another how, in March, 1832, when the cholera was raging in Paris, the prince not only contributed largely out of his own purse to the relief of the sufferers, but braved the danger of infection, in going to visit the Hôtel Dieu, when the epidemic was at its height.

"Mourning," says an eye witness, "was universal throughout France, even among the lower classes. Women wept, and every hat was lifted, as the funeral procession passed by. So universal was the grief of this great multitude, that not the slightest disorder was allowed to disturb this touching spectacle."*

"It is a remarkable thing," writes a foreigner who was in France at that time, "that love for a prince should have taken such deep root in a country where the spirit of Revolution was not yet extinct." Then he goes on to say that when the July *fêtes* were postponed, and the enormous scaffoldings which had been put up for the illuminations were being taken down, he heard some workmen, who were sitting on the beams and planks, deploring the death of the duc d'Orléans, and one of them said, "Louis Philippe can walk about Paris now as much as he likes, without fear of being shot."

* "Fils du Roi." A pamphlet, in the library of the *Moniteur Universel*.

It has been truly said,* “Had the prince royal lived in the humblest rank of society, he would still have been a remarkable man, for to such a nature as his mediocrity is impossible; in the sincere and universal grief which his death inspired among men of every rank, of every opinion, of every party, the highest tribute of praise that could be paid him was surely expressed. The most eloquent funeral oration is thus pronounced by the voice of the people, which may be called the voice of God Himself. Politics, so called, had very little place in the life of M. le duc d’Orléans—a life which seemed given up to the fulfilment of his many duties. He was once heard to say, ‘My father has his mission; I shall have mine;’ but he was far from adopting that spirit of opposition so common to heirs-apparent.

“In the Upper House he sometimes spoke, with dignity and to the point, generally on personal matters, amongst which he reckoned the attacks on the July Revolution, and on those institutions which had sprung out of the Revolution. He only interfered in party struggles in the interests of kindness and humanity, which, however, did not prevent his falling a prey to the vile insults of pamphleteers.

“He made a noble use of his princely income, which has provoked such severe criticism. A part of it he devoted to those acts of charity which have come to be considered by princes a necessity of their position, but which he seemed able to invest with a peculiar charm. The rest was spent in the patronage and encouragement of talent, especially among the youngest and most striving.

* M. V. Frond.

“Among contemporary artists and men of letters there were few who were not the friends of the duc d’Orléans, or who were not under some obligation to him. The prince endeavoured always to combine utility with pleasure, as, for instance, in the races of the Champ de Mars and Chantilly, which did much towards improving the breed of horses ; or the elegant, artistic *fêtes* at the Pavillon Marsan, which had so much influence on art and industry.”

“Some weeks after this deplorable event,” says M. Prognon, “Government decided to erect two statues in memory of the duc d’Orléans—one in Paris, the other in Algiers. They were some time deciding on the spot where the statue, which was to perpetuate the memory of the prince in the capital, should be placed ; but one day it happened that the subject was discussed in the presence of the Queen. On being asked her advice she said, with that hesitation habitual to her : “God knows my admiration for the many good qualities of my poor son ; but I think that really he had not time to render such services to France as to deserve that a statue should be erected to him in Paris. In Algiers well and good, for there he did render real service on the battle-field.”

Is it not admirable that, in spite of her passionate affection for the son, whom she was still mourning, she should have been able to pass on him so impartial a judgment ? Living or dead, she would not hear any flattery of him.

The grand poet Victor Hugo, presenting to Louis-Philippe an address of condolence from the Institute of France, expressed himself as follows :—

“Sire,—

“The Institute of France desires to lay at the foot of the throne the expression of its deep sorrow. Your royal son is dead: what a loss to France and to Europe! what a gap in the ranks of intellect! The nation bewails her prince, the army mourns the soldier, the Institute regrets the thinker.

“The duc d’Orléans did indeed understand that in this active, memorable century of ours, to be the heir of the throne of France does not mean only to occupy a high position, but also to fulfil great duties. What a mind! so grand, calm, serene, strong and gentle; what an intellect! possessed of every talent.

“A son of Henry IV. by the tie of blood, and by virtue of his courage, his charm of manner, and his gracious cordiality; a son of the Revolution by his respect for right and by his love of liberty; hurried on to military glory by the instincts of his race, recalled to the duties of peace by the bent of his mind; capable of and eager for great things; popular at home, patriotic abroad,—all was granted to him excepting time.

“The germs of a great king were plainly to be seen in this prince (cut off, alas! in his youth!) who loved art like Francis I., literature like Louis XIV., and his country like yourself.”

The popular writer and brilliant novelist, Alexandre Dumas, was at Florence when he suddenly heard the news of the prince’s death. His touching account conveys to us a just idea of the impression produced on all classes of society by the death of the prince royal. . . .

“We ordered the coachman to drive us to the Casino—the rendezvous of all Florence at six o’clock in the

summer evenings. The attachés of the French embassy would be sure to be there, and we should be able to hear something official ; we were right ; all that we had heard was confirmed there. In the official column of the *Gazette de Gènes* the news was given as it had been telegraphed, without comment or explanation ; there was, therefore, no room for doubt or hope. The news produced a deep impression. So great is the power of popularity, that the hidden love, so full of tenderness and hope, which France had for the prince, with which she had watched his journeys in Europe and his wars in Africa, and with which she had hailed his return, had spread abroad to other countries, and on that day was manifesting itself by a universal sympathy ; in Germany, Italy, England, and Spain. One would have thought that the young prince who was just dead had been not only the hope of France but the deliverer of the world. Now, all is over. The eyes that had been fastened on him in expectation are now gazing on his coffin. The world has often wept for the past, now she is mourning the future. I left the loungers to exhaust themselves in conjectures ; what were the details to me ?—the catastrophe itself was enough !

“I went home and found on my writing-table the letter which I had written to the Queen, and in which I had said she was the happiest of mothers. This letter was to go the next day, the 19th, by the ambassador’s courier. For a moment I hesitated in the presence of a grief so awful, overwhelming, impassable, to obtrude such a minor misfortune on her notice ;* but I knew the Queen ; I knew that to give her an opportunity of doing good

* A request for help for some poor fishermen.

was in itself a consolation, only instead of addressing the letter to her I addressed it to M. le duc d'Aumale. I have no recollection of what I wrote; it was one of those letters of which one keeps no copy, in which one's heart overflows with grief, and one's eyes with tears.

"The duc d'Aumale was the one of the four princes whom I knew best, after the prince royal, who had himself presented me to his brother at the Chantilly races.

"The prince royal had a particular affection for the duc d'Aumale, of whom he thought very highly. It was under his command that the young colonel had gone through his military apprenticeship, and when in the pass of Mouzaïa he had received his baptism of fire, it was the prince who had stood godfather to him.

"One day, when we were having one of our long talks on every sort of subject, when he seemed to sink the prince in the man, the duc d'Orléans told me one of those anecdotes of the Court which lose so much of their charm when they come to be written. The prince was a capital talker; he was, if one may say so, a master of the art of conversation; he knew how to stop and listen, which is so rare in an ordinary man, and in a prince quite wonderful. There was a perfect fascination, a magnetic attraction, in the voice, the smile, and the expression of the duc d'Orléans. I have never found in any one—not even the most fascinating woman—anything that could compare with it. Whatever frame of mind you were in when you approached the prince, you invariably ended by being fascinated by him. Was it his mind? was it his soul which took you by storm? It was a combination of both, for in his case head and heart were one.

“ He once told me the following story.

“ On the day before the gorge of Mouzaïa was to be stormed, there was a fearful engagement going on between our troops and the Arabs on the banks of the Chiffa. The prince royal had despatched his aide-de-camps one after another with various orders. When the battle was at its height an important order had to be sent ; turning to his staff, he asked whose duty it was next to go.

“ ‘ Mine,’ replied the duc d’Aumale, coming forward.

“ The prince cast his eyes over the battle-field, and saw to what danger he was about to expose his brother. It must be remembered that at this time the duc d’Aumale was barely eighteen—a man at heart, but a child in years.

“ ‘ You are wrong, d’Aumale, it is not your turn,’ said the duc d’Orléans.

“ The duc d’Aumale smiled ; he had understood his brother’s intention.

“ ‘ Where am I to go ; what am I to say ? ’ said the young prince, gathering up his reins.

“ The duc d’Orléans sighed, but he knew that honour is not a thing to be trifled with, more especially in the case of a prince. He wrung his brother’s hand, and gave him the order he was expecting. The duc d’Aumale galloped off into the thickest of the battle and disappeared in the smoke, his brother gazing after him till he was out of sight, and even then not turning his eyes away from the spot where he had last seen him.

“ A minute later a riderless horse emerged from the smoke. The duc d’Orléans shuddered from head to foot, for the horse was the same colour as his brother’s. The

terrible thought flashed across him that the duc d'Aumale was dead, and that he himself had sent him to his death. He writhed in his saddle, and two great tears rolled down his cheeks.

“ ‘ Monseigneur,’ said a voice in his ear, ‘ that horse has a red chabraque.’ ”

“ The duc d'Aumale's horse had a blue chabraque, and the duc d'Orléans, heaving a sigh of relief, turned and threw his arms round the neck of the man who had so thoroughly understood him. The prince told me the man's name, but I have forgotten it ; it was one of his aides-de-camp—either Bertin de Vaux or Chabaud-Latour, or d'Elchingen. Ten minutes later the duc d'Aumale presented himself before his brother, safe and sound, having delivered his message with all the courage and fearlessness of an old soldier.

“ As I said before, this little story loses all its charm as written by me, but told by the prince himself, his voice trembling with emotion, and his eyes bright with tears, it was a thing not to be forgotten.

“ Oh ! if only I had been permitted to write the history of this life, so short and yet so eventful, to tell of each day of those fourteen years as I had seen them pass by, whether in gloom, in prosperity, or in splendour ! If only I had had the privilege of giving to the public the details of this private life, the world would have prostrated itself in devotion before so great a character. There was in him so much that seemed to come straight from God, that Heaven must surely have been the poorer. God took him to Himself with all his virtues, and the earth was left lamenting. He had all the quick feeling of Henry IV., all the clear insight of Louis XIV.

“ At the same time that I wrote to the duc d’Aumale, I sent a few lines to the Queen : not to attempt to console her ; God forbid ! for the Bible itself tells us that there can be no comfort for a mother robbed of her child. Rachel weeping for her children refused to be comforted because they were not.

“ Et noluit consolari, quia non sunt. I only wrote four lines, and this is what I said :—

“ ‘Weep, madame, weep ; all France weeps with you. As for me I have had two most sorrowful days in my life : the one on which I lost my mother, and the other that on which you lost your son.’

“ To the princess royal, the duchesse d’Orléans, robbed of her husband and her crown, I do not think that I wrote anything ; I only sent her a prayer for her son to use :—

“ ‘ Oh, my father ! thou who art in paradise, make me such as thou wast on earth ; if God will but grant this, I ask for nothing more, either for my own glory or for the welfare of France.’

“ One word more about this royal child and his widowed mother. On the 2nd of January, 1841, I went to pay my new year’s visit to the prince royal. After talking for some minutes, he said :

“ ‘ Do you know the comte de Paris ?’

“ ‘ Yes, monseigneur,’ I replied, ‘ I have twice had the honour of seeing his highness.’ And I reminded the prince of the circumstances.

“ ‘ Never mind !’ said he, ‘ I will go and fetch him, so that you can pay your respects to him.’

“ He left the room and came back in a moment, leading the child by the hand ; then advancing with that

gravity that added so much to the charm of his humour, he said to him :

“ ‘ Give your hand to this gentleman ; he is a friend of papa’s, and papa has not too many friends.’ ”

“ ‘ You are mistaken, monseigneur,’ said I ; ‘ unlike most princes you have friends but no party.’ ”

“ The duc d’Orléans smiled, and made a sign to his son, who gave me his little hand to kiss.

“ ‘ What is your wish for my son ? ’ asked the prince.

“ ‘ To become king as late as possible, monseigneur.’ ”

“ ‘ You are quite right, it is a horrid profession.’ ”

“ ‘ I did not mean that, monseigneur,’ I answered ; ‘ but he can only become king on the death of your royal highness.’ ”

“ ‘ Oh ! ’ said he, with that melancholy expression which so often came over his face and into his manner, ‘ with such a mother as he has, if I were to die this moment, he would be brought up just as though I were here.’ ”

“ Then pointing to the room of the duchesse d’Orléans, as though he could guess the exact spot where she was sitting, he said,

“ ‘ I have indeed won a prize in the lottery.’ ”

“ I believe it would be impossible to have greater love, respect, admiration, and confidence than the duc d’Orléans had for his wife. He seemed to have found in her some of the same great qualities that he had himself. When he spoke of her, which was very often, his heart seemed to brim over with happiness like an overflowing stream.”

* * * * *

M. Guizot, who was prime minister in 1842, writes :

“On Saturday the coffin of the duc d’Orléans will be taken from Neuilly to Notre Dame. In a few days after the sad funeral ceremonies are over all things will resume their regular course, there will only remain that which will never die—for the royal family a terrible grief, for us all an irreparable loss, and the burden which that loss imposes.”

One biographer says of him :

“During his short life he has appealed to the heart of the nation, to her most noble feelings, her most generous aspirations, and it is one of the glories of human nature that it preserves, even in its decay, the memory of those who have awakened all that is highest within it.

“One felt that this prince rose superior to his destiny, and that it was only time that was wanting for the accomplishment of great deeds. Had he lived we should have been spared two revolutions, we should not have seen the days of June, 1848, nor of the commune of 1871, nor the disasters of the war rashly undertaken and madly carried on. What misfortunes would have been avoided, and what grievous pages in our history would have remained unwritten ! The people had indeed cause to uncover their heads in grief before that coffin : it was the good genius of France that was passing by.”*

The duc d’Orléans left an admirable will, in which he seemed to foretell with prophetic instinct the revolution which would one day rend his country. He expresses himself as follows : “It is indeed a great and

* “Fils du Roi,” a pamphlet in the library of the *Moniteur Universel*.

difficult task to prepare the comte de Paris for the fate that awaits him, for nobody can tell now what this child will have become when the time arrives for reconstructing on a new basis a society which rests on the mutilated remains of an effete organisation. Whether the comte de Paris is to be an instrument broken before it is used, or whether he is to help in the building up of a social regeneration, which one can dimly see behind great obstacles, even perhaps through rivers of blood ; whether he is to be a king, or only an unknown, insignificant defender of a cause to which we all belong, he must above all things be a man of his time and of his nation : he must be a Catholic, and a devoted, untiring servant of France and of the Revolution. I am convinced that, while remaining herself faithful to her own religious belief, Hélène will be scrupulously careful to bring up our children in the religion of their father—in that religion which from time immemorial has been the religion which France has professed and defended, and the principles of which are so perfectly in harmony with the new social ideas to which my son must devote himself.” A little further on, talking of the comte de Paris, he adds : “ In bequeathing to him the defence of a country and of a principle threatened on every side, I also bequeath to him faith in their right and in their final triumph. May the hopes and the devotion destined to die in me without bearing fruit live in the heart of my son ; may he understand how to show his affection for his country by making himself one with her, not by setting himself up as her guardian ; may the thought of his ancient family make him realize that the grandeur of his an-

cestry only adds to his responsibility ; may he learn that to belong to the first family in the world ought to make him proud and worthy of holding some day in his hands the destiny of the most glorious cause which has ever, since the beginning of Christianity, been pleaded before the human race ; may he be the apostle of this cause, and, if needs be, its martyr."

Party spirit—always ready to disparage—failed to understand that when the duc d'Orléans advised his eldest son to become the devoted and untiring servant of the Revolution, he meant that he was to be imbued with those modern ideas which, after the national movement of 1789, had become the foundation of almost all European monarchies. To pretend that the words of the duc d'Orléans gave a public sanction to the horrors of 1793—that most awful period of our history—is entirely to misunderstand this prince who was as wise as he was liberal ; the impartial historian cannot fail to judge thus of a document, which is in every way worthy of the writer.

The King Louis-Philippe seemed to increase in affection for his grandson after the catastrophe of July the 13th, 1842. He delighted in taking the young prince to the palace of Versailles, which had been entirely restored a few years before under his supervision.

"What better lesson," says a biographer, very truly, "could this young prince of eight years have had than a visit to the museum at Versailles, when the King Louis-Philippe, leading him through the long galleries, showed him the pictures of Henry IV. at Ivry, and of Louis XIV. in the ranks before Valenciennes, and

then stopped with delight in the hall where Horace Vernet had just painted his immortal pictures of various scenes in the wars of the young army, and the heroic deeds of those in command. That officer, standing in the trenches before Antwerp, and in the breach at Constantine, is the duc de Nemours. That admiral, on the quarter-deck under the fire of the batteries at Tangiers, is the prince de Joinville. That general of twenty-three who, with a handful of cavalry, throws himself on the Sheala d'Abd-el-Kader, a place as thickly populated as a large town, and defended by 5,000 regular troops, is the duc d'Aumale. And the old King, who loved peace, and who wanted to make his grandson a patriotic and not a warlike prince, seeing the child's eyes sparkle at the sight of these pictures, hastened to add—"Remember, it is France that you must love before anything else, even before glory."

"Since then the prince has become the eldest of the family, the head of the royal house. He is worthy of France—worthy of the name he bears—great though that name be—worthy of the destiny that awaits him, however high that destiny may be."*

After the death of the duc d'Orléans, the King Louis-Philippe had been at great pains to select from among the most eminent professors at the University the one to whom the education of M. le comte de Paris, and M. le duc de Chartres should be entrusted. In 1843 he selected as tutor to the young princes the learned M. Adolphe Regnier, who afterwards became member of the Institute, and died (October, 1884), at

* "Fils du roi," pamphlet, in the library of the *Moniteur Universel*.

the age of eighty, librarian at the Castle of Fontainebleau.

Aided by the wonderful quickness of his pupils he succeeded completely in the difficult task which the King had entrusted to him, of educating a prince who might be called upon to govern France.

Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans writes as follows on the subject of M. Regnier :—

“ Out of thousands of men I could not have chosen any one who could have managed my little Paris with more wisdom or more affection. The little fellow gets on very well, on the whole ; his heart, his mind, his health improve in the most satisfactory way.

“ Robert has got over his illness, and though still thin and weak, he is full of life and tricks.”

Mme. de Bontems, who had educated Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans, came to spend some part of the summer of 1843 with her at Neuilly and at the Castle of Eu, where the young princes derived much benefit from the sea air. It was at this time that she wrote the following letters which show the character of the comte de Paris when he was a child :—

“ *June 10th.*

“ The relations between M. Regnier and the little one are perfect. You would like to see how gently yet how firmly he manages him. Paris is very fond of him, and does not dare to disobey him, as he does me and Mme. H——. I expect really excellent results from this new arrangement. As for Robert, he is very unhappy at being separated from his brother, and he is always asking where he is, for he sees him

so seldom, and loves him so much. It is more necessary for him than for Paris to be with other children, for he gets bored when he is by himself ; whereas Paris is very self-contained, though he enjoys the two hours which he is allowed to spend every day with Robert."

" *June 18th.*

"Every day Paris reads 'Robinson Crusoe' with M. Regnier—a book which lends itself to a great many instructive conversations. I give him, first of all, a short lesson in sacred history, which begins with prayer. I cannot say that he is very attentive, but he seems to like the stories immensely."

On the day of the first anniversary of the death of the duc d'Orléans, in 1843, the duchesse d'Orléans wrote the following letter to the comte de Paris :—

"Although I am not able to be with you, my dear child, I am thinking of you, and only hope that you will be particularly good to-day. You know what a sad day this is for me and for us all ; you know that we are all at Dreux, and are praying to God for papa. You must pray, too, that he may have everlasting happiness, and that we may all be re-united in Heaven. When you are older, you shall come with me to Dreux, and then, as you get wiser and better, you shall hear such beautiful and touching stories about papa as shall make you long to become like him.

"Good-bye, my dear Paris, kiss baby for me, and think of

"YOUR MOTHER.

"*July 13th, 1843.*"

Three months later she writes about a visit which the young prince had paid at Versailles, where the first painters of the day were engaged in reproducing the great scenes of French history.

“*Oct. 15, 1843.*

“I go sometimes with Paris to Versailles to show him the historical pictures, so as to impress on his memory the history of his country. He is delighted with it, and takes more than a superficial interest in everything.”

Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans, describing New Year's Day, 1844, says :—

“*Jan. 1, 1844.*

“As usual we spent the last hours of the old year with the King round the Christmas-tree. The children were charmed with their presents, especially Paris with his cabinet of natural history, and other things much to his taste. I sent him away soon afterwards, as it was late ; no sooner had he got to his room than he sat down and began to read a book without being the least distracted or excited. When his playthings arrived he did not look at them, but said that he wanted to finish his story. I was much pleased with this, for it shows a good disposition.”

In the autumn of 1844 an accident happened at Eu, which might have proved fatal to the King, and almost the whole royal family. The King, accompanied by the Queen, the duchesse d'Orléans, the comte de Paris, the duc de Chartres, the prince de Joinville, the

duc d'Aumale, and the young princesses, went in *char-à-bancs* to inspect a battery of artillery stationed near Tréport. The King had made the comte de Paris fire off a cannon, and the little prince, who was only six years old, had courageously applied the match. On their way back they were obliged to cross a bridge over a lock, with very slight rails on either side. The Queen and the duchesse d'Orleans wanted to get out of the carriage, but the King objected. Just at that moment the report of a cannon startled the horses, and three of them fell into the water. Fortunately the postilion managed, with great coolness, to pull the wheelers up just as they were going to jump the parapet, and the King and the royal family were saved.

The letters of Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans enable us to enter thoroughly into the childhood of the comte de Paris. Soon after this accident at Tréport, she went to the Industrial Exhibition, and writes as follows :—

“ June 24, 1844.

“ I measure time by my children's development. They are both growing—Paris especially. He really is a charming child—tall, rosy, merry, and wonderfully good at his lessons, which he is very fond of. He is good natured, frank, honest, and extremely persevering. He has been with me twice to the Exhibition.* You can fancy what an effort it cost me to take him, and I should never have done it, if there had not been so much said lately about the seclusion in which the child

* The Exhibition took place in the Carré Marigny, where subsequently, in 1855, the Palace of Industry was erected.

is kept. It was a great success. He was nearly suffocated by the people in their eagerness and joy. As for him, he was neither shy nor silly; but quite natural, and absorbed in his dear machines, which are quite a mania with him. All the praise and admiration do not make him vain; fortunately he does not notice it at all. Little Robert, on the contrary, who was much more interested in the people than in the machines, delighted in being looked at. He is all fun, life, and good humour. Sometimes I hardly know how to stop his little impudent ways. He is too amusing; but in spite of his winning disposition, one has to be strict with him."

"July 5, 1844.

"Paris and Robert have their little discussions, in which the character of each comes out plainly; the one so full of good sense and depth of feeling, the other so quick and intelligent."

In 1845 the princess mentions her delight in watching the improvement of the two children. The comte de Paris was not seven years old when he went to the opening of the Chambers, and on his return he wanted to give his professor an analysis of the King's speech, which he had followed with the greatest attention.

In the years 1846, 1847, the King Louis-Philippe took a great interest in the education of the two princes, as did also Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans, whose wise and tender care won the admiration of all. Seldom has any princess in France enjoyed such a wonderful popularity among all classes, without distinc-

tion of party, and every day she received fresh proofs of the feelings which she inspired. Her one idea was to bring up her sons as their father himself would have done, and she entered into the smallest details of their health, their lessons, and their play. It has been truly said : "Every circumstance of her life seemed only to bring out her grand qualities—that mixture of womanly delicacy of feeling with decision and firmness of action ; of great sensitiveness with a self-control which she exhibited on every occasion."

At 11 o'clock in the morning of February the 24th, 1848, when the comte de Paris was hardly ten years old, the King having left the Tuileries, the court of the palace was evacuated by the troops, the mob surged in and made themselves masters of the palace, and the firing redoubled in force. When the duchesse d'Orléans saw that the palace was about to be invaded by the mob, she took her two children by the hand and going through the long galleries from her rooms, she stopped in front of the picture of the duc d'Orléans, exclaiming, "It is here that we must die!" She ordered all the doors to be opened, as though for a reception. The balls flew in. Two deputies came and begged her to go to the Chamber. She consented, and with some difficulty reached the Palais-Bourbon.

M. le duc de Nemours, whose courage and coolness never once failed him, stayed with his sister-in-law, ready to die for her and for his nephew ; but General Bedeau showed such utter incapacity that he could not even defend the entrances to the Chamber. The hall was invaded, and shots were fired.

M. de Lamartine, the poetic genius who, to quote a happy expression, would always willingly change history into romance, and politics into meditations, had begun a speech in favour of M. le comte de Paris and of the regency of Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans, and ended it in favour of the Republic—a Republic which neither he nor his friends had dreamt of a few hours before. One must read that incredible nonsense to understand what power the unforeseen can give to the most vulgar prose. It was because he was a poet that it was possible for M. de Lamartine to succeed to King Louis-Philippe, and M. Cavillier-Fleury was indeed right when he said that while others were losing their reputation, and even their life, in the cause, M. de Lamartine contented himself with empty phrases.

The duchesse d'Orléans, separated from her youngest son the duc de Chartres (who had been saved by baron de l'Espée*), and obliged to leave the Palais-Bourbon, took refuge in the Hôtel des Invalides, where she remained for two days, while her faithful friends were trying to organise some resistance. Marshal Molitor was ill, and was not able to take the command. "Let the orders be given in my name," said the princess without hesitation.

It was represented to her that the Hôtel des Invalides was very much isolated from all help. "No matter," she cried, "this place will do to live in, if we can defend ourselves ; to die in, if we are to have no to-morrow."

* Father of the prefect of St. Etienne, who was assassinated in 1871.

M. le duc de Nemours, who had taken refuge with M. Biesta (the future director of the Comptoir d'Escompte de Paris) only left Paris when it had been clearly proved that the National Guard was thoroughly disorganized, and refused to march against the insurgents. Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans was exhorted to flee, but inspired by a sense of duty, and knowing that she was defending the cause of monarchy and national sovereignty, outraged by the insurrection, she refused to listen to all entreaties.

"So long as there is one—only one—who will stay, I remain here. I think more of my son's life than of his crown; but if his death be necessary for France, a king, even of nine years, must know how to die!" She refused to change her dress. "If I am to be arrested, let me be arrested as a princess!" The young prince, pressing himself close against his mother, kept repeating, "I will not leave France; I will not quit my country!"

And yet his absence was to last 23 years!

But they were forced to flee; for Paris, in the hands of the mob, was no longer mistress of herself. The duchesse d'Orléans went first to the country house of viscount Léon de Montesquiou, at Bligny, near d'Orsay. On the 26th, the duc de Chartres was restored to her, ill with influenza, which, however, had fortunately no bad consequences. The marquis de Mornay and M. Régnier accompanied the princess and her children.

The rain had cleared the streets, so that the princess was not recognized at Versailles. She started for Lille, by way of St. Germain, Pontoise, Beauvais; slept the

next night at Amiens, and on the 28th took the train at Lille, where they had to wait four hours for the train to Belgium. The carriage had been placed on a truck, and the princess had all the papers brought to her, which contained news of what was going on in Paris. Her superior intellect seemed to grasp in a moment the true situation of affairs. She saw the National Guard stupefied, yet disgusted with the proclamation of the Republic; and the shopkeepers, as well as the working classes, astounded at the ridiculous sight presented by the republican Government, so soon to be overthrown by the breath of public opinion! Thus she said to her friends: "France does not wish for a Republic! The 24th of February was sprung upon us! It is my duty, as mother of the prince royal, to preserve the crown for my son, and to save the country, which is now a prey to a gang of Socialists. General Négrier commands the garrison here. I shall go at once with my sons to the citadel, and throw myself on his honour as a soldier. I shall then make an appeal to the country, and I am perfectly certain that the widow of the duc d'Orléans will obtain a hearing."

During this scene the comte de Paris was listening gravely and seriously, not like a child of ten, but like a man.

"Do not let us leave Lille," he exclaimed, "let us go the army, I am sure that the soldiers will welcome me as one of their own children."

But her suite throw themselves at the feet of the princess and implore her to give up this plan. They remind her of the flight of Louis XVI. to Varennes,

and of the horrors of the reign of terror ; they tell her that her first, most sacred duty is to save her son, the heir to the throne, and when they suggest the possibility of another prison in the Temple, with, perhaps, another Simon as jailor, the princess shudders ; but in a moment she draws herself up with a grand courage, and exclaims :

“ God will protect us ; let us go to the citadel.”

Then they remind her of the responsibility which they have taken upon themselves of saving her, and at last plainly refuse to go with her. Two hours later the train conveyed the princess from Lille without her having seen the general.

If France had heard the voice of this heroic woman, would she have aroused herself from the torpor, under the influence of which she had accepted a government which she tolerated, but which the majority of the nation did not desire ? God only knows.

On the 24th of February, the rioters, while sacking and pillaging the palace of the Tuileries, had given a striking proof of the great popularity which Madame la duchesse d'Orléans enjoyed, and of the respect in which the memory of the duc d'Orléans was still held by the people. The apartments of Madame la duchesse d'Orléans in the pavillon Marsan had been left absolutely untouched. Her waiting-woman made her way into them a few days later, and with the help of some faithful friends, she brought out all that belonged to the princess, who was thus able to preserve intact all her furniture, pictures, portraits, and other treasures, which she valued as reminding her of happier days.

On crossing the frontier, Madame la duchesse d'Orléans burst into tears, and M. de Mornay could hardly restrain his grief.

"Our tears are very different," said she; "you weep for joy that we are saved, I weep bitter tears at leaving France—France, on which I invoke every blessing of Heaven! Wherever I die, let France know that my last thoughts are for her."

"When I think that I shall never see France again," said she, many years later, "I feel as if my heart would break."

The princess was by this time in great need of rest, and she stopped one night at Verviers, and the next day, March the 1st, at Cologne. After some weeks spent at Ems, Madame la duchesse d'Orleans went to the Castle of Eisenach, which belonged to her uncle, the grand duke of Saxe-Weimar.

The following summer (1849) she left Germany to take her sons to Louis-Philippe and the Queen, who had not seen them since the revolution.

The arrival of the young princes caused the greatest joy at the Castle of Claremont. The change which a year of exile had already produced in the comte de Paris was very remarkable, and the King noticed with great satisfaction how the mind of his grandson had expanded and ripened under the able and enlightened guidance of his mother.

A great grief had already overtaken the illustrious exiles. In their excessive loyalty the princes had never for a moment contemplated the possibility of being condemned to exile by the Republic. They had given to their country a striking proof of their disinterestedness

and patriotic self-sacrifice by leaving Algiers on the 3rd of March, 1848, without attempting to restore the monarchy by entering France at the head of the army which they commanded. However, they were quickly and cruelly undeceived, for on the 26th of May, 1848, the law was passed which banished them from French territory.

Most of the former members of the household of Madame la duchesse d'Orléans had followed their royal mistress into exile, and served her as they had done at the Tuileries. The marquise de Vins, reader to the princess, and M. de Boismilon, former tutor of the duc d'Orléans, helped her with their advice in the education of her sons. When the duchess d'Orléans was at Eisenach, she had sent for the wife and two sons of M. Régnier, who became the companions and rivals of the young princes. M. Etienne Allaire assisted M. Régnier, and later on succeeded him, in his duties. Several of the old friends of the princess, such as the comtesse d'Hautpoul, the comtesse Anatole de Montesquiou, and the marquise de Chanabeilles, came every year to spend some months with her, and in 1853 the marquise de Beauvoir came to Eisenach with her husband and her son, and remained constantly with the princess till her death.

In the month of April, 1850, the duchesse d'Orléans took her sons to see Nuremberg, the town which she had been so fond of in her childhood. She showed them the church, the beautiful fountains, the house of Albrecht Dürer, and the various mills and factories. From there she travelled to Wurzburg, Frankfort, and went down the Rhine on her way to England, where

M. le comte de Paris was to take his first communion.

This was the first important event in the life of the exiles. Madame la duchesse d'Orléans had very wisely understood how important it was to give a solemn publicity to this great act, which was to initiate her child into the full communion of the Catholic Church. The many friends who only wanted an opportunity for showing their devotion to the royal family, made this an occasion for paying their respects to the illustrious exiles. It had been settled that the ceremony should take place at the French chapel in London, with all the religious pomp befitting the place and the circumstances. They had not been mistaken in thinking that they could count on a considerable number of French to take part in this great and touching ceremony. We must confess that it was the King more than his grandson who was the object of universal sympathy. He had been anxious, for that day, to brighten up his ordinary attire, but no one could have failed to be struck by the sad contrast between the toilet and the gait and expression of the wearer.

Madame la duchesse d'Orléans gives the following account of this touching ceremony :—

“ At eight o'clock on the morning of July the 20th, 1850, we went with the King and Queen to the little French chapel in London, followed by all the members of the family and the many faithful friends who had come over for the ceremony.

“ Paris was placed at the foot of the altar between the King and myself, in front of a prie-Dieu on which was a lighted candle. On his left arm he wore a white

scarf, emblem of purity. Before Mass the Abbé Guelle gave a beautiful and touching address, then Mass was said by Dr. Wiseman, Bishop of London, a man much respected by the French clergy. Just before communicating, the Bishop also addressed a few beautiful words to Paris, and the Abbé Guelle then led the dear child to the altar. He knelt down, and received the Body of his Lord with an awe and devotion which were truly edifying. On his way back to his prie-Dieu he passed close to the King who, with uplifted hand, gave him his blessing. Then the dear child turned instinctively to me, and gave me a look which I shall never forget, but which I cannot describe. The Bishop gave another address, then Mass was finished, and we left the Chapel deeply affected. The behaviour of Paris was surprising for his age; candour and dignity pervaded his whole being; every one was struck by it, not only the King, who told him that it was one of the happiest days of his life, not only the Queen and my brothers, who seemed deeply affected, but strangers and spectators who came out of mere curiosity, all seemed impressed by the purity, devotion, and simplicity of the child; all wept from sympathy and emotion.

“Poor Robert was much affected by the ceremony.

“At 2 o'clock we all went back to the Chapel, with the exception of the King, whose health requires great care. The Bishop was again present. Vespers having been sung, the Abbé Guelle gave an affecting address; then Paris, standing at the foot of the altar, read in a clear, firm voice the form of renewing his baptismal vows. After this we went home, full of gratitude to the good God who loves and blesses children.”

"Who," says an eye-witness, "could have helped being touched by the sight of the mother, whose eyes, bright with tears, lingered on her son as though she would have enfolded him with her loving glances as he knelt there, all his features expressing humility and devotion. The emotion of the spectators was not even stifled by the sound of the organ! The prince's nurse had come from France on purpose to be present, and several other old retainers had accompanied her."*

King Louis-Philippe, who had been deeply impressed by the whole ceremony, was much affected by the words of Mgr. Wiseman, who was at that time vicar-apostolic in London. The King returned the following day to Claremont.

"The Queen did not shut her eyes to the King's state. She did not believe that, at his age, any doctors could arrest the general decay of his health, and Dr. Gueneau knew her too well to buoy her up with false hopes. She prayed with tears to God, her heart bled at the thought that the tie, which for forty years had been so sweet and so strong, was about to be broken; if she had not deemed herself unworthy of a miracle, she would have besought Heaven to grant her the life of her husband."†

But she had the consolation for which she had so often prayed. On the 26th of August, 1850, the King died as a Christian should, having just before his death received extreme unction at the hands of the Abbé Guelle.

Thus died a King worthy in every way of his name

* "Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans," by Mme. la Marquese d'If.

† Trcgnon, "Vie de Marie-Amélie."

and his family. A few weeks later, on the 10th of October, another grief nearly as great, and more unexpected, overtook the royal family. The saintly Queen of the Belgians, the princesse Louise d'Orléans, eldest daughter of King Louis-Philippe, died at Ostend, mourned not only by her own family, but by all Belgium, where the memory of her virtues is still preserved.

The royal family had always been wonderfully united.

"After the death of the King, the friends of the house of Orléans demanded that, in view of any possible contingency, the question of the regency should be settled, so that at the critical moment there should be no uncertainty or divisions. Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans pronounced in the most positive manner against the proposal that she should take upon herself the regency, and for fear that the reasons which she gave with great force and clearness should not make sufficient impression on those to whom she spoke, she resolved to put them into writing, and spent several hours dictating a memoir in which she explained all the reasons which, in her opinion, rendered it inexpedient for her to assume the regency. (Religion was one of these reasons.) She concluded by saying that it was the Queen to whom it ought to be entrusted. This document exists, and is another proof of her respect for the Queen, and of the high standard which she always maintained." *

Nothing could make the young princes forget France—their own dear country!

* "Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans," par Mme. la Marquese d'If.

Shortly before this (1850), a lady in mourning, with two children, was frequently to be seen on the bridge of Kehl, which unites Alsace and Baden. She took her daily walk there, and the soldiers on the French and Baden frontiers took her for an inhabitant either of Kehl or Strasburg. The two little boys used to run on in front, but when they came to the French end of the bridge they turned back. Sometimes the children, instead of turning back when they got to the French bank, would run on, and digging up with their little trowel some of the French soil, would fill their little pail, and bring it in triumph to their mother. If one had followed them, one would have seen them put this earth into a box which, by degrees, became full, and which they guarded as a treasure.

The lady in mourning was the exiled duchesse d'Orléans, and the two little labourers were her sons, the comte de Paris, and the duc de Chartres. When the box was filled, these little workmen became gardeners. Their idea was to sow in this earth some seed brought from France, and every day they pruned, watered, and tended their "plantation;" and when they saw their mother gazing with tears in her eyes at the Alsatian bank, they tried to comfort her by showing her their seed—emblem of hope!

"If it flowers, it will be a good omen," said they, and every day they carefully examined the box, and watched the growth. But the fortunes of exile obliged the mother and her children to depart, and the seed remained in French soil on the German bank of the Rhine. Years passed by, the children became soldiers, and fought bravely in America, under assumed names,

in defence of an invaded country—the sword had taken the place of the little wooden spade! I am told that when one of the young princes, M. le comte de Paris, was at Kehl, he went to see the old house, where his mother had lived. The owner, who had the honour of receiving him, said:—"Do you believe in omens, monseigneur?"

The prince smiled.

"I believe firmly in them," his host continued. "Does your Royal Highness remember the seed which you sowed? You said, then, that the fate of that little seed would symbolize your own."

"Yes, I remember," said the prince.

"Well, the seed has shot up into a little tree, which flowered the very year that your royal highness might have come back to France."

"And now?" asked the prince.

"Now, monseigneur is going to see the new omen," and he conducted the prince to the garden. The little tree was covered with its first fruit.

"It will soon be ripe, monseigneur. Have faith in the omen."

The duchesse d'Orléans had taken care to surround her sons in their sad exile with those most fitted to keep alive their attachment to the country from which they were separated. These were General Trézel, formerly minister of war; Colonel de Montguyon, formerly aide-de-camp to the duc d'Orléans; General Drolanveux, an old officer of the army in Africa; Colonel Uhrich; Captain Morhain, who sent in his resignation to the minister of war, in order to serve the comte de Paris in his long exile, and who even

to this day brings him the offering of a perfect devotion ; and lastly the marquis de Beauvoir (father of M. de Beauvoir, who is at the present day with the comte de Paris). M. de Beauvoir, who was a son-in-law of the marquis de Rumigny, had formerly been in the diplomatic service, and was one of the most faithful friends of Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans. He devoted his life and his noble intellect to the princess and her august sons during their long exile, and continued to give proofs of his sincere, heartfelt affection up to the very day of his death (1870).

The holidays were spent in travelling about, as much for instruction as for pleasure. They visited the ports and the great commercial and industrial towns in England. They entered the workshops, and went down into the mines. The comte de Paris always wanted to have everything described to him, and his earnest attention enabled him to grasp quickly the various facts, which he stored up in his retentive memory.

Later on the princes, accompanied by one of the greatest generals of the army in Africa, visited the battlefields of Europe.

Sometimes the duc d'Aumale joined his nephews, and taught them, on the very scene of action, the military history of France—a history which no one is more familiar with, nor better able to relate than himself.

They also went to Nordlingen and Fribourg, where the great Condé, with Turenne as his lieutenant, had gained his greatest victories ; to Nerwinde and Fleurus, where the armies of Louis XIV. and the

soldiers of the Republic had passed by; the plains of the Palatinate and of Bavaria, the scenes of the grand campaigns of Jourdan and Moreau.

In all their travels the exiles endeavoured to find memorials of their country. Repulsed from her frontiers, denied the privilege of living for her, they took refuge in her past, and in the undying records of her grandeur and heroism.

M. le comte de Paris was then 14 years old. Tall, slender, graceful in his movements, staid in his demeanour, original in his reflexions, of a sound judgment, he led a life worthy of his name, and befitting a young man of his age. He delighted in going up the mountains round Eisenach with his tutor, gathering and drying flowers, which were then sent to Paris to be classified by his professor of botany, M. Germain.

The duc de Chartres, who was two years younger, was extremely lively. His development progressed satisfactorily, both from a moral and intellectual point of view. His features were refined, his eyes blue and intelligent. Both the princes showed their mother an affection so devoted and touching, that her exile was greatly softened by it.

Though the duchesse d'Orléans always had before her eyes, in the education of her son, the throne of France, which he might one day ascend, yet she realized that there were certain advantages for him in this life of exile. He was brought more face to face with everyday life, and learnt more by contact with people of all classes. Never did a royal mother better understand the education of a prince who might be called to so great a destiny.

Having protested against the decrees of January the 22nd, 1852, which deprived them of their fortune, and having endeavoured in vain to get the iniquitous decrees of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte annulled by the tribunal, the princes drew nearer, so to speak, to their mother, as to the centre of their existence. Her virtues and her misfortunes seemed to surround her with a halo of glory, which shone on them with a brilliancy far surpassing that of the crown which she had lost.

The decrees of January the 22nd had found Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans quite indifferent to anything that concerned herself, and a few days after they were published she writes :

“As far as we are concerned, you know that we are, thank God, beyond the reach of attack. They have done much worse by humiliating our country, and persecuting our friends. All these sacrifices for our beloved country would be easy to accept, if it did not deprive us of the greatest consolation we have. Until the decree shall have appeared, I beg that you will make full use of the powers with which I entrusted you. I should not like to have to give up the only source of joy that remains to me in this misfortune.”

In the Spring of 1853, Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans, who had spent the winter in Devonshire, brought her two sons to Claremont, so that the Queen might superintend the preparation of the duc de Chartres for his first communion, and of the comte de Paris for the sacrament of confirmation, which he was to receive from the hands of Cardinal Wiseman. A large

number of friends came over from France, and their presence was some consolation to the noble exiles.

This year (1853) was not devoid of anxiety for the royal family. When Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans was in Switzerland, she had an accident, which for a short time placed her life in danger, and the Queen, who had hurried from England to be with her, fell ill herself at Geneva.

This terrible accident happened to Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans in October, 1853. She had just left Geneva and Lausanne on her way to Friburg. The weather had been wretched for some days, and the ground was soaked with the ceaseless torrents of rain. The son of the postmaster at Geneva had claimed the honour of driving her in a carriage like an English stage-coach, drawn by five horses. In this carriage were Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans, Mme. de Vins, her maid of honour, M. le comte de Paris, and the duc de Chartres. The servants were behind. The comte de Montguyon and M. Allaire, who at that time had charge of the princes' education, followed in another carriage.

Not far from the village of Oron, one of the horses in the first carriage became restive. They shouted to the coachman to pull up his horses, and an old confidential servant of the duchesse d'Orléans, named Conrad, got up on the box to help him to drive. Suddenly, notwithstanding all the efforts of the coachman, the carriage was dragged to the side of the road, and fell over into the bed of the torrent, a distance of about seven feet. The water was beginning to come into the carriage, and the duchesse d'Orléans was nearly

crushed under the weight of Mme. de Vins, who had fallen on her, when M. de Montguyon and M. Allaire rushed forward and rescued them from their perilous position, while the voice of M. le comte de Paris was heard above all the tumult, shouting "Save my mother; don't think of me!" When the travellers were extricated from the carriage, it was found that Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans had broken her collar-bone, and was suffering terribly. She was carried to Oron, where Dr. Pellis, a very clever man, took the utmost care of her. The princes did their utmost to ease their mother's sufferings, but for a short time she thought herself to be dying. She prepared to meet death with the most wonderful courage and resignation, but God restored her to the love and devotion of her two sons, to whom her counsels and advice were so valuable.

M. le comte de Paris, whose military education had been conducted by General Trézel, formerly minister of war, took the most patriotic interest in the different phases of the Crimean war (1854-1855). Many of the prince's friends had fallen in these battles, and at the castle of Eisenach they were busy making lint for the French army. So great was the love which the princes had for their country that they could not turn their thoughts away from her, and the comte de Paris followed with the utmost interest every scene in this military drama, and could not refrain from envying the French army, whose dangers and glories he was not permitted to share. He knew all the fortifications of Sebastopol, and the positions of the respective armies, as well as though he had seen them with his own eyes ;

and his sympathy with the suffering which followed the war was shown on every occasion and in the smallest details. The valet of M. le comte de Paris had a son who had fallen before Sebastopol; a louis d'or had been found in his pocket, and had been sent with his clothes to his parents. The duchesse d'Orléans had a ring put through this piece of money, so that the mother of the young man might wear it in memory of her son, and the frequent visits of the princess and her sons seemed to bring some consolation to the poor woman in her overwhelming grief.

During the summer of 1856, Madame la duchesse d'Orléans went with her sons to the waters of Soden, near Frankfort; but as her health did not improve the doctors advised her to spend the winter in Italy. The princess left Germany towards the end of September, and in October she went to Lakes Como, Lugano, Maggiore, and to the Borromean Islands, where she was eagerly welcomed by the comte Giberto Borromeo, who took great pleasure in showing the young princes his splendid palace of L'Isola Bella, with its magnificent terraces. After enjoying the artistic treasures of Milan and Genoa, M. le comte de Paris and M. le duc de Chartres, leaving their mother established in a villa near Sestri, went into Sardinia for a few days' sport.

The winter passed happily for Madame la duchesse d'Orléans, and in May, 1857, after having received the most flattering reception from the King and royal family at Turin, she went (for the last time) to Eisenach with her sons and stayed there for some weeks. The great age of Queen Marie-Amélie made it a duty for the princess to be more constantly near Her

Majesty, and she went to England, where she occupied a country house at Richmond, belonging to the Marquis of Lansdowne, which was only an hour from the Queen's house at Claremont, and thirty minutes from the duc d'Aumale's house at Twickenham.

The summer of 1857 was the most pleasant time that the royal family had spent since the year 1848. The duchesse d'Orléans acknowledged this with gratitude.

"It is an indescribable joy to me," she writes, "to see my sons developing after my own heart, to see them growing in goodness, devoting themselves to me with a paternal and protecting tenderness, and taking care of me as though I had been confided to their charge—my bad health being in this respect rather a benefit to me. I think that the present age of my eldest son is the most delightful time in a man's life. He has all the candour of youth, with its freshness of impressions, and its uprightness of principle untarnished, and to these is added an increasing strength of mind, a power of thought which takes the place of experience, and a constant striving after and longing for perfection. Robert, though younger, is also beginning to combine more mature qualities with his childish innocence, and his quick, impulsive nature is held in check by a daily increasing good sense. You will say that I am blind as regards my sons, but I assure you this is not the case; to recognize the blessings which God has given us amidst all our sufferings is not to be blind. I shall always be very exacting with them, for I want them to rise to a high standard."

It was a great and legitimate joy to Madame la

duchesse d'Orléans to note the success of the work to which she had devoted her life.

“ . . . I cannot describe to you the change that has come over Paris,” she says ; “ it is no longer I that look after him, but he who protects me. I delight in seeing that he has a conscience of his own, independent of mine ; I am quite pleased when he differs from me, and I am not afraid of saying that I respect him.”

The author of “ *Madame la duchesse d'Orléans* ” adds, with truth :

“ She was not the only one who thought thus ; the respect which goodness, uprightness, and earnestness obtain at every age was strikingly marked in the almost fatherly affection of his uncles for the young prince. The complete understanding between the two brothers prevented all uneasiness as to their future, whatever it might be.”

On the 24th of August, 1857, the duchesse d'Orléans gave a fête to all the younger members of the royal family then in England with the Queen, in honour of the 19th birthday of the comte de Paris. Of the whole party, Madame la duchesse de Nemours was the only one who was unable to shake off her low spirits ; perhaps she had a presentiment of what was to happen to her, for on the 10th of November, 1857, she died suddenly, after giving birth to a daughter, the princess Blanche.

The household at Claremont was again plunged in mourning, and the winter which followed was a sad one ; the month of May, 1858, found the Queen ill and confined to her bed, at the very time that a terrible and

totally unforeseen calamity was about to befall the royal family.

Some friends had come over from France to pay their respects, amongst them the celebrated author, the comte de Montalembert, who was received by Madame la duchesse d'Orléans early in May. He left her presence charmed and delighted, and loud in his admiration for the princess. This was the last visitor whom she received, for she suddenly fell ill, and took to her bed on the 11th of May. Frequent fainting fits showed how completely her constitution was exhausted, and on the 17th she had an attack which caused the greatest anxiety to those around her. On the morning of the 18th she said, in a feeble voice, that she wished to sleep; a few minutes later Dr. Gêneau de Mussy and the marquise de Beauvoir entered her room and found her silent and motionless in death.

One may indeed say that the death of Madame la duchesse d'Orléans left her children inconsolable, and "the memory of this noble virtuous princess has always been a guiding star which has never ceased to influence their lives."

It was a terrible blow to the orphaned princes; but the Queen realized the responsibility which devolved on her, and in her both her grandsons found the love and devotion of a second mother.

The funeral of Madame la duchesse d'Orléans took place at Weybridge, and numbers of French friends came over to pay the last tribute of respect to this noble princess.

CHAPTER II.

1858-1870.

M. LE COMTE DE PARIS travels in the East—visits Jerusalem and Syria (1860)—Publication in England of the account of his travels—The American Campaign (1861-1862)—The comte de Paris, and the duc de Chartres on the staff of Gen. MacClellan—Siege and capture of Yorktown (4 April, 4 May)—Battle of Williamsburg (May 5)—Battle of Fair-Oaks (May 31—June 1, 1862)—The seven days' retreat to James River—Battle of Malvern Hill—Battle of Gain's Mill (June 27)—The relations between the French and American Governments become strained—Resignation of the comte de Paris and the duc de Chartres—Return to Europe (July 1862)—A letter from the prince de Joinville on the last engagements in which his nephews took place in America (Fort Monroe, July 1, 1862)—The opinion of Gen. MacClellan on the princes during the American War—The literary work of the comte de Paris during his exile: "Damascus and Lebanon" (1861), published by Jeffs in London; Christmas week in Lancashire (*Revue des deux Mondes*, Feb. 1, 1863. Signed X. Raymond); Modern Germany (*Revue des deux Mondes*, Aug. 1, 1867); The State Church and the Free Church in Ireland (*Revue des deux Mondes*, May 15th, 1868)—The comte de Paris studies the question of the working classes at Manchester, and in several other English towns—His book on English Trades' Unions (1869)—The two princes publish the duc d'Orléans's Campaigns in Africa—The spirit of conquest, 1870 (*Courier de la Gironde* of the 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 Dec. 1870)—Marriage of the comte de Paris with princess Isabella de Montpensier (May 30, 1864)—Fêtes on that occasion—Birth of H.R.H. princes Amélie (Sept. 28, 1865)—Death of Queen Marie-Amélie (March 24, 1866)—Journey of the comte de Paris to Spain (1867)—The prince takes up his residence at York House—Birth of H.R.H. the duc d'Orléans (Feb. 6, 1869)—Letter of the Orléans princes to the President of the Chamber of Deputies (June 19, 1870)—The petition of the princes is rejected—Letter from the comte de Paris to the comte de Kératres (July 4, 1870)—Letter from the comte de Paris to general comte Dumas (Aug. 20, 1870)—The Orléans princes during the war—Letter from the comte de Paris to general baron de Chaband Latour (Jan. 17, 1871.)

THE education of M. le comte de Paris was continued, sometimes in England, sometimes in Germany. He travelled all over the latter country, and nothing escaped his keen observation. He also visited with excellent results the many small states of the Germanic Confederation ; he then returned to England, where for a whole year he devoted himself enthusiastically to the study of chemistry in Professor Hoffman's laboratory at the School of Engineering in London. After a very short time he became one of the best pupils of this distinguished professor. He had thus attained the age of twenty when he had the misfortune to lose his mother, Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans (May 18, 1848). He had at that time some thought of following his brother to the Military School at Turin, but, thinking that his position as head of the House of Orléans might be a source of embarrassment to King Victor-Emmanuel (who was about to become the father-in-law of Prince Napoleon), and might even interfere with his brother's military career, he gave up the idea. This sacrifice seemed all the harder to him later on, when, in the Italian War, his brother had the joy of fighting side by side with the French army.

M. le comte de Paris spent some months in Italy, and the following year he travelled in the East with his brother and some friends, visiting Greece, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Mount Sinai. The caravan was composed of the two young princes, the marquis de Beauvoir (father of the present marquis), comte Louis de Ségar, M. Roger de Scitivaux, Captain Mortrain, and doctor Leclère. On Nov. the 27th,

1859, they embarked at Trieste for Alexandria, where the most magnificent, generous hospitality was shown by Saïd Pacha to the grandsons of King Louis-Philippe, to whom the family of Mehemet Ali owes the throne.

When they were sailing over the waters of Greece, the comte de Paris, fresh from his classical studies, had been deeply impressed by the sight of the ruins, the mountains, and the plains immortalized by Homer. In his enthusiasm he wrote the following delightful letter to his old tutor M. Régnier :—

“ Gulf of Patras, *Nov.* 30, 1859.

“ I cannot, my dear Monsieur Régnier, pass the kingdom of old Ulysses without writing to tell you about it. You see that I am more than fulfilling my promise, but you and I have so often followed in imagination the hero of Homer through the archipelago which I see now before my eyes, that it seems quite a familiar country to me. If I were to meet the goddess with the blue eyes, she could not, at any rate, reproach me as she did her *protégé* :—

Νήπιος εἶς, ὃ ξεῖν', ἣ τηλόθεν εἰλήλουθας,
Εἰ δὲ τήνδε τε γαῖαν ἀνείρεαι

“ We are now in the Gulf of Patras, at the point where the canal of Cephalonia joins the gulf ; a few hundred yards to our left rise the steep cliffs of Ithaca ; a few irregular ridges united by various isthmuses compose the island, to which the name of *αἰγίβοτος* is most applicable. I think it would be impossible to find an inch of level ground, and as Homer says, there could not be an island less fitted for the breeding of horses.

On all sides grey rocks covered with red patches, here and there the grey green foliage of the olive tree ; no forest, no grass—such is the rock immortalized by the great poet. In spite of its dreary aspect we greeted it with pleasure, for such grand associations can brighten the dreariest shores. It might have been here that the sleeping Ulysses was deposited by the Phæacians, there perhaps might have been the house where he shed the blood of the suitors. And though there may be nothing actually before our eyes to recall the memories which fill our minds, there is, at any rate, no contrast to wound our feelings or fetter our imagination ; though we may not actually see the shepherd Eumeus leaning on his staff, we may, at all events, hope to meet him. No modern civilization has effaced the traces of primitive simplicity. It certainly is no smiling landscape which meets us here, but its character and its grand proportions are perfectly in harmony with the noble scenes which it recalls. The deep unruffled sea, with its many channels, surrounds the islands, rocks and promontories, whose bold outlines and arid colouring contrast strikingly with the deep blue of the water. Notwithstanding the pure transparency of the atmosphere, the sky has that luminous softness which inspired the genius of Greece. The vast surface of water called the Gulf of Patras, is shut in on the right by the fog-capped mountains of Cephalonia (*αἰεὶ δ' ὄμβρος ἔχει*), which seem to melt in the distance into the indistinct outline of the island of Xante ; to the left is the continent of Greece, with the wide breach formed by the Gulf of Corinth—and this is the way to Athens ! In the distance we can just

see the peaks of the Peloponnesus, which are separated from the sea by a low, wide plain : this is Elis. Here we fancy we can find the river Alpheus, and see the Olympian games.

“ But, to use a classical expression, the sun is sinking into the arms of Tethys, and with him we must bid farewell to the shores of Greece. What deep impressions can be produced in a few hours—impressions which will certainly not fade as quickly as the brilliant panorama before us ! Another time I will tell you about Egypt and as I shall post this letter at Alexandria, it will announce our safe arrival there.

“ Ever yours,

“ LOUIS-PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS.”

After a stay of four months in Egypt, the travellers went to Jerusalem to be present at the ceremonies of Holy Week. From there they went to visit the ruins of Djerash and Palmyra, the curious convent of Mount Sinai and Mount Horeb (on whose heights Moses received the Commandments, whilst the children of Israel were encamped below). Then, after inspecting the works of the Suez Canal, they returned to Europe by way of Constantinople. One of the party, M. Louis de Ségur, published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes** an account of the journey to the ruins of Djerash, Palmyra, and Mount Sinai. I refer the reader to this accurate and most interesting account of this part of the princes' journey. It cannot fail to be

* “ Une Caravane française en Syrie au printemps de 1860,” by comte Louis de Ségur. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 1st and October 1st, 1861.

noticed, as a proof of the wonderful liberty which was allowed in free France in 1861, that the *Revue des Deux Mondes* did not dare to give the full names of either the comte de Paris or the duc de Chartres, but only hinted at their personality. M. de Ségur gives the following account of their visit to Mount Sinai, the convent of which, built in the 6th century by Justinian, derived a certain importance from the citadel which the Emperor had added to it.

“On leaving the library, we found ourselves in the midst of the pile of buildings which formed the monasteries. We were astonished to see a mosque. It was built in the time of Sélim, and by this subterfuge the convent was saved from a Mussulman invasion, for the wild hordes fell back at the sight of the crescent. The building was allowed by the monks to remain, in memory of this event. ‘God has always specially protected this convent,’ said the Fathers, ‘notwithstanding the persecution and martyrdom of 7,000 cenobites. The treasures have never been pillaged, nor the church and sanctuary of the burning bush desecrated.’

“Now-a-days the monks have nothing to fear. A revenue of 3,000,000 piastres in Roumelia, vast territories in Egypt, and gifts from the sovereigns of the Greek Church, render them rich and powerful ; and the whole peninsula belongs to them—at any rate nominally. They have been in possession of this territory since the time of Mahomet. The Prophet had not yet succeeded in imposing his laws and tenets on Arabia, when he came to the mountain of Moses to do homage to the memory of the patriarch. The

monks gave him a hospitable welcome, and on his expressing his gratitude they said, 'If you become powerful, what will you give us?' Mahomet blackened his hand, and placing it on the skin of a gazelle, exclaimed, 'I will give you all that you can ask for on that skin.' The impress of his hand was the only signature, and the monks wrote over it these words: 'The peninsula of Sinai.' This singular title-deed is at Constantinople; hence this monastery, alone amongst Christian convents, cherishes a grateful recollection of the Prophet. There are eighty fathers, and nearly seventy serving brothers in the monastery, without counting 1,000 Mussulman serfs, who live like the Arabs on the mountain. These serfs are of Christian origin, descendants of the Egyptian and Valaque families sent by the Emperor Justinian to serve the monasteries."

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M. de Ségur describes how the monk who was escorting them pointed out the rock which Moses struck with his rod. "Look at those gaping holes in the rock—that was where the water flowed out; now it flows no longer—our sins have dried it up."

"In order to understand the history of the peninsula of Sinai, one must compare the works of the ancient and modern savants. The splendours of the Exodus threw entirely into the background the events of the periods before and after that episode in the Bible. It seems, however, that before the arrival of the Hebrews, Mount Sinai was held in veneration, and was called the Mountain of God by the Amalekites. These frowning rocks were accredited with all

the honours of a divine presence ; no one ventured to ascend them, and the historian Josephus tells us that even the nomad inhabitants avoided pasturing their flocks in the valleys overshadowed by the rocks."

M. le comte de Paris and M. le duc de Chartres had been much struck during their travels with the sympathy which the name of France awakened throughout Syria. The comte de Paris has given us the results of his observations in a volume entitled "Damascus and Lebanon," which was issued by Jeffs, in London, in 1861.*

In his preface the author says that it was by mere chance that he had gone to the East. Having no other means of becoming acquainted with his own country, to which he was entirely devoted, he went to the far East in search of all that could remind him of the former glory of France, and could make him appreciate her present influence, and judge of the foundation on which her future politics should be based. Thanks to his name, and to the memories of his family, he was received by the Christian population in such a manner as to make him realize the full extent of the sympathy felt for France, and the reliance placed on her support.

M. le comte de Paris thus describes his journey :—

"The march of European civilization at Damascus makes the weakness of the Mussulman institutions all the more apparent. Curiously enough, this contrast was strikingly exhibited to us in the persons of two men who represent the spirit of the two systems now

* To be had in Paris at Santon's Library.

face to face. One morning we visited the house of the Lazarite, and the same evening we received a visit from the Grand Ulema.

“There is a regular colony of Lazarites at Damascus, and Father Leroy, who is the moving spirit, did the honours to us with that simple, unaffected self-satisfaction always felt by men of great energy when they have achieved some difficult task. He has devoted his entire life and all his faculties to the French mission in Egypt and Syria, of which he is now the head ; and master of all trades, he himself, like a true French soldier, performed the many labours necessitated by his enterprise in a country destitute of resources. Some time ago a pasha refused to grant him permission to build a church. Far from being discouraged by this rebuff, he collected a number of planks in his own house, had them prepared in secret, and in the course of one night erected in his courtyard the little wooden chapel which is still used by the community. He is now engaged in constructing a larger and more solid church, of which he is the architect, mason and sculptor, and the arch of the new doorway already excites the admiration of the Damascenes, the worst builders in the world. Persevering in small matters as in great, he has finished by uniting all those institutions which in the West are considered as most beneficial to humanity, but of which the East is as ignorant as of the most ordinary resources of European life. The priests of the mission at Damascus keep a school, where they give to about 300 scholars an excellent education, far superior to ordinary education in the country, besides which they visit all the

Catholic villages, preaching and spreading the light of the Gospel, and in fact doing everything to make up for the ignorance of the native clergy. The sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, who have established themselves near them in order to take part in this grand work, spend their time in the education of the girls and the care of the sick, and it is needless to say what popularity they have thus acquired in a few years. The dispensary, where they assist the French sanitary authorities, no longer suffices for the thousands of sick of all classes who come to them to be cured, and their schools contain about 200 pupils, whose quick intelligence has been cultivated with all the care it deserves, and which they delight in exhibiting to their admiring fellow-countrymen. We had a proof of it in the little French which they recited before us—a little scene to which their brilliant costumes and their accent, still a little oriental, gave a peculiar character.

“ I took leave of Father Leroy, astonished at having at last met with something in Syria that speaks of progress, full of admiration for the intellect and the tenacity of purpose which could accomplish so much with such limited resources, and deeply struck by the power of civilization which can find men ready thus to devote themselves to its cause. I was indeed proud to see the French name so worthily borne, and happy to find in the midst of the degraded institutions of the East this flourishing colony of Sisters of Mercy, who are living examples of one of the greatest benefits that Christianity has conferred on humanity—the re-instatement of woman in her rightful position.

“ But a very different sight awaited us on our return

to camp. We had hardly got home before the arrival of Abdallah El Halebi, the Grand Ulema, was announced. We could not understand how it was this man, whose duty it is to explain the words of the Prophet to the fanatical population of the Holy City, should have come to pay a visit to infidels. In order to solve the problem, we began by inviting Abdallah to sit down in our tent. Like a true Oriental, his costume was an extraordinary mixture of splendour and dirt. On his bare feet were a wretched pair of shoes, yet he wore several robes embroidered in the most brilliant colours. I can only liken his vast turban, bound round his temples with a piece of gold brocade, to a pumpkin in which he had buried his head up to his ears. Each time that he pronounced the name of Allah, he removed all this paraphernalia with both hands, and disclosed a shaven and extremely pointed head, worthy of a place at a phrenologist's. His conversation was interrupted by unintelligible prayers, which gave him an inspired air in the eyes of devout Mussulmans.

"An hour passes, conversation flags, and still the holy man makes no sign of departing.

"'I am tiring you,' he said; 'I was wrong to come.'

"To which we replied with Oriental veracity that we should be delighted to spend the whole day with him.

"'I, poor servant of God that I am,' he went on, 'never leave my house; but it was suggested to me by others that I should pay you a visit. Do you know why they advised me to come?'

"And we, not understanding the drift of all this,

answered that we had no notion why he came, but that the pleasure of seeing him was enough in itself.

“‘But what shall I say to those who advised me to come? The sons of the King gave me lemonade, a pipe, and coffee, but what shall I have to show as a proof of your good will? What shall I take back from this visit? Once I paid a visit to an English lord, and he gave me this beautiful robe. Oh! he was a good, a noble lord!’

“We have got it at last, and everything is explained. Knowing that we wanted to see the grand mosque, he had thought it prudent to come beforehand to secure the backsheesh which he hoped to get out of this visit. It is needless to say that we sent him away satisfied. . . .”

On arriving at Tripoli, M. le comte de Paris and the duc de Chartres heard of the wars and fearful massacres which were desolating Syria. While the princes had been travelling in the desert, only hearing of the ancient feud between the Bedouins of the Euphrates and those of the Orontes, civil war had broken out in all parts. However, they managed to reach Beyrout by land, crossing that part of the mountains of Lebanon inhabited by the Maronites. The prince gives in his book a most interesting description of the life, manners and customs of the Maronites, and points out the *rôle* that this people, whose sympathies are all with Europe, especially with France, may one day have to play. The comte de Paris also reviews the instances of the unjustifiable apathy of the Turkish authorities, and of their frequent connivance with the Druses at the time

of the massacres of the Christians in Syria. He finishes by calling attention to the great task devolving on Europe, and especially on France, of securing peace and safety to Syria.

We cannot sufficiently recommend those of our readers who desire to have an insight into the state of Syria at the time of the massacres of 1860, to study the pages of this book, so full of life and spirit, written by a young prince of twenty-two. He shows himself eager to see all, to know all, and he does not conceal his joy at the sympathy of foreign countries with France. On their return to Europe, the princes parted company at Vienna with all the friends who had accompanied them on their long and interesting expedition, which had lasted ten months, and had not been without its anxieties. At the ruins of Palmyra, it was only the devoted care and zeal of Dr. Leclère that had saved the life of the comte de Paris, when he was in great danger in the midst of the desert without help and without drugs.

“Alas!” says M. de Ségur, “those pleasant days of travel were succeeded by days of exile for the young princes, by fresh persecutions for their friends in France.”

After their travels in the East, the young princes went to America with their uncle, the prince de Joinville, embarking for New York on the 30th of August, 1861.

The United States were at that time in the midst of all the miseries of civil war. A terrible struggle had broken out in America after the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency of the United States (November 9th, 1860).

A certain number of the Southern States demanded to retire from the Union. On the refusal of the president and legislature at Washington to let them carry out their secession, and on the majority having decided in favour of the abolition of slavery, the Southern States attacked Fort Sumner. Lincoln replied to this declaration of war by calling out first 75,000 of the militia, by blockading the ports of North Carolina and Virginia (April 27th, 1861), and by calling out (May 9th) another force of 42,000 volunteers, 22,000 regulars, and 18,000 marines. But it was soon obvious that these troops would be quite unequal to the task of defeating the rebels, and on July the 5th, 1861, Lincoln, in a message to the Congress of Washington, then assembled for a special session, made a demand for an army of 400,000 men. On the 10th of the same month, the Congress voted the organization of an army of 500,000 men, and the raising of a loan of 500 millions of dollars to carry on the war against the separatist States.

The command of the Unionist troops collected round the Federal capital was entrusted to General MacClellan, whose force was known by the name of the army of the Potomac. The war began with a series of reverses for the Federals, and on August the 16th, President Lincoln published a proclamation, in which he declared the inhabitants of Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia (with the exception of the part lying to the west of the Alleghanies), North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Florida to be in a state of insurrection against the United States. He interdicted all commercial relations between them, and ordered the confiscation of all goods

and merchandise passing from one of these States into any part of the Union. It was just at this critical moment that the young princes placed their swords at the service of the United States.

The comte de Paris and the duc de Chartres had only intended staying a few months in America, but filled as they were with courage and ardour, they burned with impatience to take part in this war. To the comte de Paris, the prospect was especially attractive, for it had been a source of keen regret to him that he had been unable to take part with his brother in the Italian campaign. He found in America an opportunity of learning the profession of arms, and at the same time it was a great joy to the brothers to be able to serve together in the Federal army.

“ Their one desire,” says a biographer, “ was never to lose an opportunity of being under fire, and their presence being a mark of sympathy with the great American Republic, they could not be otherwise than well received by President Lincoln and by the Secretary of State, Mr. Seward. Their entrance into the army was made easy by Mr. Seward, who took care to tell them that no oath would be demanded of them, and that they would be at liberty to return to Europe whenever they wished. This was most important, for political complications might at any moment bring about a situation in which the interests of the American Republic would be, or would appear to be, inimical to those of France, and in this case the two princes would not be able to serve under the Federal flag.

On the 28th of September, 1861, they both entered the Federal army as captains on the staff and aides-de-

camp to General MacClellan, commander-in-chief of the army of the Potomac. When on November the 1st, this general succeeded General Scott as commander-in-chief of the army of the United States, they remained with him while he was engaged in organizing his forces and in training and drilling his troops by frequent manœuvres. The princes thus studied the great art of war under a general who had the reputation of being one of the most able commanders in America.

The first operations of the new generalissimo did not begin till April, 1862, when the army of the Potomac disembarked at Fort Monroe, in the peninsula of Virginia, with the ultimate intention of attacking the enemy's capital, Richmond. York Town, celebrated by the capitulation of Cornwallis, was the first place to be attacked, and the trenches were opened on the 4th of April. Communication between the place and the interior was kept up by means of entrenchments raised on the peninsula which separated it from the mainland; the investment could not be made complete unless these works were taken, and hitherto they had resisted all the efforts of the enemy. They had to confine themselves to a regular attack on one of the fronts, and the siege, in which the comte de Paris took an active part, lasted a month.* On the 4th of May, the garrison evacuated the place and rejoined the confederate army, which, on the 6th, was attacked, defeated near Williamsburg after a desperate battle, and pursued hotly by the cavalry of General Stoneman, to which the prince had been attached. General MacClellan entered Williams-

* See Appendix IV.: Letter from the comte de Paris on the subject of the artillery at the Siege of York Town (1862).

burg the same day, and arrived a fortnight later before Richmond.

The comte de Paris and the duc de Chartres had taken part in the sanguinary battles of Fair Oaks on May 31st and June 1st, and in all the principal operations which, during the latter month, signalized the campaign against Richmond, especially in the great battle of Gain's Mill on the 27th of June, when MacClellan's right wing was destroyed by General Lee after a desperate struggle and severe losses.

During this battle, the regiment to which the comte de Paris was attached was being decimated by the grape shot which poured in on all sides ; the soldiers of the North wavered and began a retreat, which after a few minutes turned into a rout. With a calmness and courage worthy of his race, the comte de Paris rallied his men, exhorted them to stand firm, and so encouraged them that he eventually brought them under fire again. This firmness and manly courage in the presence of danger made a deep impression on the staff of General MacClellan, who had been anxiously watching each incident in the struggle.

A little later on, in one of the smaller fights, which were not even mentioned in the papers, the comte de Paris and his brother were obliged to throw themselves into the *mêlée* with drawn swords, and the regiments, in the midst of which they were fighting, were able by vigorous charges to maintain their position. The investment of Richmond was not yet completed on the right, when, on June the 15th, the Confederates, having concentrated all their forces under General Lee, determined on a flank attack, in order to surround the Federal

troops. To avoid this danger, General MacClellan retreated to James River, a retreat only to be effected by a long flank march in face of an enemy rendered all the stronger by the advantageous position they had taken up. This is what is known in the history of this war as "the seven days of Richmond," the splendid masterly retreat having begun June the 25th and terminated July the 1st by the battle of Malvern Hill, after which the Unionists under MacClellan took up their position at Harrison's Landing on the James River. During the whole of this campaign, and especially during the retreat from Chickahominy to James River, the two young princes made themselves conspicuous by their courage and by their intelligent grasp of military matters. This is particularly mentioned in a letter to the *Times* (July 22nd, 1862), written from New York, and repeated in the *Indépendance Belge* (July 24th, 1862) :

"Galloping across the Albemarle Bridge over the Chickahominy," says the correspondent of the English newspaper, "I gained the summit of the hills in front. Beneath me in the valley I could see the line of battle, 35,000 strong, and stretching a mile and a half in length. It was easy for me to make out all the movements of this army corps, and to distinguish the officers who were personally known to me, amongst others the young comte de Paris and the duc de Chartres, the former being easily recognised by his peculiar head-gear, made like that which his ancestor, Henry IV., used to wear. During the entire action the young princes gave proofs of a wonderful courage, which was not subsequently belied by the superhuman efforts that

they made to stem the disorder of the retreat. The comte de Paris was attached to the staff of General Porter. For more than four hours he remained exposed to a murderous fire, and it is a perfect miracle that he was not hit. The duc de Chartres had marched to the front with a division sent by MacClellan in the afternoon as a reinforcement, and had taken an active part in the engagement. The firmness displayed by the young princes at the most critical moment of the battle, when the retreat threatened to become a rout, excited the admiration of the entire army, and called forth the public congratulations of the commander-in-chief. It is fortunate that their return to Europe, rendered necessary by private affairs, did not take place before this battle, for in the hour of great danger they were able to render an immense service to the cause which they had embraced."

The private reasons mentioned by the *Times* correspondent were of great importance in the eyes of the two princes. Since April, 1862, the relations between the Government at Washington and the French Government had become very strained, owing to the determination of the latter to undertake that fatal expedition to Mexico, where French blood and money were to be so recklessly squandered. This expedition was regarded unfavourably by the United States Government, and a rupture seemed imminent between the two countries. The position of the two princes would have been too equivocal, and their natural feelings would have been outraged by remaining in the Federal army; thus the comte de Paris, who always declared that the happiest days of his exile were those

spent as captain on the staff of General MacClellan's army, found himself obliged to quit the service of the United States with his brother (July the 2nd, 1862). Their resignation was accepted with great regret by the general commanding-in-chief, and by President Lincoln, and, on embarking for Europe, they left behind them a reputation for military ability and courage, which the historians of the war are never tired of extolling.

After the Northern Army had received these checks, no one in France doubted the final triumph of the Southern States ; but the comte de Paris held a very different opinion. With all the keenness of his great political insight, he believed entirely in the ultimate success of the North over the South. We have before our eyes several letters written by the prince at this period, all of which express this opinion, and show how clearly he had grasped the situation in the United States. We are sure that our readers will peruse with interest the following letter written by the prince de Joinville (who accompanied his nephews throughout the American War) to his brother the duc d'Aumale, describing the last battles in which the princes had taken part.

"Fort Monroe, *July* 1st, 1862.

"The events of yesterday will always remain engraven on my memory, both on account of the affecting scenes which I witnessed, and the dangers which our nephews escaped only by miracle. Paris was exposed for four, and Robert for two hours, to a ceaseless and terrible fire of musketry and artillery. I need not

say that their conduct was beyond praise ; they were among the most active and courageous, and, at the crisis of the battle, their firmness won the admiration of all, and they received the public thanks of the general. This is what happened. We knew that Porter's troops, stationed on the left bank of the Chickahominey, had been attacked that morning. The action began at about 1 o'clock. Paris was sent off at once, and remained under General Porter's orders. The affair becoming hotter and hotter, and the balloonists reporting that strong reinforcements were advancing from Richmond, while the right bank remained comparatively quiet, the general gave orders for five brigades to reinforce Porter ; Robert was sent with them, and as our two nephews were evidently in for it, I went off as well, to try and see what became of them. I galloped over the Chickahominey bridge, and up the opposite hills, and made out our troops drawn up in line of battle, extending for a mile-and-a-half, in an undulating country composed of big fields and woods. From there I crossed a battery—rather hot work!—and rejoined my nephews, who were in front with General Porter. Neither he nor they seemed to notice that the balls were falling like hail all around them. After one moment's talk my nephews were sent to carry orders in every direction ; we separated, and I took up my position on a hill in the rear where I could get a pretty general view of the battlefield, and could follow the movements of my nephews, Paris being made especially conspicuous by his peculiar head gear. There I stayed, admiring this grand sight. We had about 35,000 men under fire,

our strong artillery was stationed in the valley, whilst our lancers, with fluttering pennons, were held in reserve. Imagine all this in the midst of a lovely country bathed in the last rays of the blood-red, setting sun.

“Suddenly, at the very spot where Porter stands, the firing becomes tremendous, our reserves are cheered on, and one after another they enter the wood. The firing increases, and spreads to our left; there can be no doubt that the enemy is making a final attack in that quarter. Our reserves are all engaged; we have no others in hand; daylight is fast fading; if we can only hold on for an hour longer the victory will be ours, for, in every other direction, we have repulsed the enemy, and the efforts of Jackson, Lee, Witt, and Longstreet, whose troops we are now engaging, will be useless; but our men are exhausted; they have been fighting since morning, and their cartridges are beginning to fail. The enemy brings up fresh reserves which have been massed since midday; these troops throw themselves in good order on our left, which wavers, takes to flight, and running past our artillery communicates the panic to our centre. The enemy advances rapidly. The various staffs, with our nephews at the head, throw themselves with drawn swords into the *mêlée* to stop the fugitives. They seize the colours, plant them in the ground, and some small groups of the more courageous rally round them. So hot is the firing and cannonading that the showers of projectiles which tear up the ground raise continual clouds of dust. At this moment General Cook makes a desperate charge with his cavalry, but is driven back,

and his retreating troopers only add to the general disorder: I, together with a few others who have some pluck left, endeavour to stop the panic, but in vain! I then joined some officers who were endeavouring to prevent the artillery joining in the flight, and we only succeeded in stopping them by actually barring their passage, and seizing the horses' bridles. We mounted two or three guns on the slope of the hill, and with them we engaged the enemy by the last rays of daylight. At this moment the Irish brigade arrived from Magher, and threw themselves with savage yells into the battle, and the enemy halted. I was now joined by my nephews who, acting simply on the impulse of the moment, and as men of sense and intelligence, had done their utmost to avert the disaster, and had fortunately escaped without injury. We shook hands cordially, each of us had adventures to relate; Robert, on his return from carrying an order, had mistaken one of the enemy's regiments for our own men, and had only been undeceived by finding himself a mark for their artillery. Paris was directing the fire of a battery up to the last moment. Our losses are considerable; Sykes has lost nearly half his brigade, but from midday till six o'clock it seemed as though the enemy must be annihilated; all their efforts failed, and the only advantage they obtained was the capture of half a mile of ground (which we lost by the deplorable panic), and of our guns and wounded. A couple of regiments, or a fresh brigade arriving just at the critical moment, would have changed it all into a brilliant victory for us, but it is one of the chances of war!

“I am at any rate glad that our departure was put off, so that we were not obliged to leave the army at such an important moment, and also that our nephews distinguished themselves as they did.

“After the battle of the 27th of June, it was evident that the concentration of the Confederate forces would oblige us to retreat. It was decided to cross the White Oak Swamp, and halt behind it until the baggage should have defiled on James River, where a new base of operations could be formed, protected by our guns. Five or six thousand vehicles were employed on the one road between York River and James River. On the morning of the 29th we quitted New Savage Station in a thick fog, and, encumbered with an enormous number of wounded, we arrived at the White Oak Swamp—a sort of wooded bog; but hardly had the head of the column gone past, when we heard the sound of firing in front. We galloped forward, and I met K——, who told me that we had dispersed the enemy’s cavalry, which was harassing our march. Soon we heard sharp cannonading in our rear. It was the enemy attacking Sumner, who had not quitted his position. We camped out that night, and at daybreak I was told that all our waggons and troops had crossed the White Oak Swamp. The next day, in overpowering heat, we marched towards James River. The General-in-Chief conferred with the Commandant of the artillery, who then galloped off with my nephews. The enemy’s cannon was soon heard attacking Smith, who was holding the swamp, and another attack was made on the centre of our line. These attacks nearly succeeded in routing the convoys,

and the general returned with us to the gunners, to consult with Captain Rogers. We embarked on board the *Galena*, and having heard that a large body of the enemy was marching on the position occupied by Porter, we re-ascended the river, in order to bring the weight of our bullets to bear upon the enemy, and we opened a tremendous fire. The lieutenant was up aloft with an officer of the signalling corps, who telegraphed to Porter's signals, placed on the top of a house, to direct our fire. In spite of my long boots and spurs, I climbed up to join them; but in the excitement of the engagement the steering was forgotten, and the *Galena* ran aground—a most disagreeable position, for no sooner was the enemy aware of it than the whole neighbourhood was filled with their marksmen. At last we got off, and as Porter's fire diminished, we concluded that the attack had been repulsed, and there was a general fraternising of blue jackets, in which I took part. The general returned to his quarters. We bade farewell to him, and took passage on board the gunboat *Jacob Bell*, which was carrying despatches to Fort Monroe.

“FR. D'ORLÉANS.”

All the European papers were full of the brilliant conduct of the Orléans princes during the American campaign; but the Imperial Government sternly stopped on the frontier all those which made the slightest allusion to the exiles. One of the English papers had criticised the departure of the princes from America, and the Bonapartist organs hastened to reprint the article. The *Indépendance Belge* had pub-

lished the interesting letter, which we have just quoted, from the prince de Joinville to his brother the duc d'Aumale. Not only was this paper stopped on the frontier, but the Imperial Government prosecuted M. Viallet, a printer, and condemned him to pay a fine of 200 francs for having prepared, without the authority or knowledge of the Minister of the Interior, 100 copies of this letter, which M. Bocher, the representative of the Orléans princes, had intended presenting to the friends of the royal family.

But that was not all. After forbidding the exiles or their friends to say one word in their defence, they insinuated, in various papers in their pay, that the princes had deserted the cause of the United States on the very day that it had ceased to be victorious. These papers, and the minds which inspired them, ought at any rate to have had sufficient fairness to speak the truth in talking of exiles on whom silence was imposed ; for what paper was there in Paris which would have dared to insert a letter from one of the Orléans princes ?

The princes had bidden farewell to General MacClellan ; they were to have taken their departure on the 24th of June. Their preparations were all complete, when, having heard that a battle was imminent, they remained, and took part in all the operations of the Federal army until the end of the struggle, in a manner which won for them the public congratulations of their commander. All the American Press—including the *New York Tribune*, one of the most important papers in the United States, in describing the last struggles in which the two brothers took part,

rendered the highest tribute of praise to their courage and boldness, and to the important service which they had rendered by rallying and re-forming the battalions of the Federals when they were wavering, overwhelmed by the steadily increasing numbers of their opponents.

The rigorous silence imposed on the French Press on the subject of the Orléans princes shows to what an extent the Bonapartist Government dreaded the memory of such popular names.

We find in the third volume of a very successful work, "A Journey Round the World," by the comte de Beauvoir, the proof of the pleasant impressions which the princes left in the memory of their comrades-in-arms.

M. de Beauvoir writes as follows :—

"General MacDowell, who commanded the whole of the Pacific coast, came to pay a visit to the duc de Penthièvre. He was an old fellow-soldier of the comte de Paris and the duc de Chartres, and we were quite touched by his devotion to the princes, and by his recollection of the various battles. 'Ah,' said he, 'your father and your cousins are so much beloved by all Americans, that we felt compelled to come and tell you of our gratitude and devotion to your family. Americans may not be able to express themselves, but their heart is in the right place, and there is not one who could ever forget all that your relations have done for us. When we were despised in Europe; when they said that we were going to the devil; when every nation covered us with abuse, the princes of a royal

race came to us democrats, ready to shed their blood in our cause, and fought for liberty as simple captains in the ranks. Pray tell them that we shall be eternally grateful to them, for during eleven months we saw them the first to advance under fire, indefatigable—I might even say greedy—in performing all the drudgery of military life; the best of comrades and the bravest of men.’” *

The reader will no doubt be interested to see the way in which General MacClellan, commander-in-chief of the army, appreciated the work of the young princes during the war. Early in 1884, he published in an American magazine, the *Century*, a long article. He was, as is well known, one of the most distinguished of the many able generals who were brought to light by the war. We regret that we are not able to give in its entirety the judgment pronounced by this eminent military authority on the princes, who are themselves as able as they are courageous. We must content ourselves with those parts of the article in which General MacClellan gives a portrait of the prince, and must leave out those parts of the comte de Paris’ life which are already known to the French public. After an account of the events which had taken the Orléans princes to England, the general expresses his appreciation of the education which the comte de Paris had received at Claremont in the following terms :—

* For the details of the princes’ American campaign, see the curious and interesting article published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Oct. 15, 1862, entitled, “Campagne du Potomac,” by the Prince de Joinville (Signed Trognon).

“ It would be impossible to imagine a more delightful picture of family life than that of the royal family at Claremont during the latter years of Queen Amélie. Her children were gathered round her, and devoted though they were to travelling, they always returned to her side. Banished from their dearly loved country, they seemed to find some compensation in the tender care and affection which they lavished on this distinguished woman, who, while preserving all her queenly dignity, never failed to impress on those around her a sense of her affectionate nature and of her worthiness to be loved. Under the direction of their mother and their uncles, assisted by extremely able professors, the two children of the duchesse d'Orleans passed their childhood at Claremont, receiving physically and intellectually an excellent, sound education ; the position that their family had occupied, and the possibility of their return to France, with all the responsibility of power, never being lost sight of. The difference in the characters of the two brothers manifested itself at an early age ; the elder, calm, reflective, self-possessed ; the younger, impetuous and full of fire ; the one developing by degrees the qualities of a politician and ruler, the other those of a soldier ; both full of capabilities, each in a different way. Those who saw them on the battle-field noticed the same difference in their characters. One of their comrades during our war described the comte de Paris as a gentleman in the true sense of the word, imbued with a deep sense of duty, one to whom the motto ‘ Noblesse oblige ’ has a real meaning and is not only an empty phrase.

“ At the battle of Gain’s Mill, where I saw him under

fire, he showed that he was thorough master of himself, and exhibited a simple, natural courage, which made, I recollect, a strong impression on me. His behaviour in the moment of danger was that of an earnest, courageous, religious man. The young duc de Chartres was at that time a bold, dashing soldier, running into danger from sheer love of danger, and never so happy as when under fire.

"In the month of August, 1861, the two brothers accompanied by the prince de Joinville, left for New York. They arrived at Washington towards the end of September, and the young princes received from the president authority to enter the army as aides-de-camp without taking the oath of fidelity or receiving any pay. It was also understood that they should be permitted to quit the service, if political or family events should render it necessary. They figured in the army lists as Louis Philippe d'Orléans and Robert d'Orléans, supernumerary aides-de-camp in the regular army, with the rank of captains, and they were attached to the staff of the major-general commanding the army of the Potomac. The prince de Joinville accepted no rank, and only accompanied the staff at the invitation of the general commanding-in-chief as a friend and amateur.

"The situation of the young princes was necessarily surrounded with difficulties. In their position as princes, liable at any moment to be called on to take their place in the government of a great nation, and yet serving in the army of a republic whose cause was not regarded with favourable eyes by the government directing their own country, they had many contradictions to reconcile, many obstacles to surmount. Re-

lated as they were to so many royal families in Europe by whom they were always received as personages of royal rank, the elder looked on by many in France as the legal heir to the throne, they could never lose sight of the dignity of their position; while at the same time they were obliged to fulfil the duties of their subordinate rank and gain the confidence and friendship of their new comrades, who would naturally judge them according to their personal qualities and capacities, and not according to the social position which they occupied on the other side of the Atlantic. They acquitted themselves of their task with perfect success, for they won the entire confidence, respect and consideration of their general and all their comrades. From the day they entered the service they had to perform exactly the same duties as the rest of the personal staff of the general. They yielded to none in the zeal, tact, courage and intelligence which they brought to bear on their duty, whether it were monotonous office work, or intelligent analysis of reports relating to the number and position of the enemy, or the work of organizing the army of the Potomac; whether they had to follow their general in long and wearisome rides through the extensive camps round Washington, or from one column to another in the open country; whether they had to carry orders by day or night, in storm or rain, or finally, whether they had to take their place in important battles. Far from showing any wish to avoid tiresome, dangerous, or fatiguing duties, they seemed to be eager for them, and were never so happy as when work of this sort was entrusted to them, always exhibiting the grand qualities inherited from a race of soldiers.

“ They seemed to have an innate love of a soldier’s life, and an overpowering wish to perfect themselves in the profession of arms by making practical acquaintance with war on a large scale, and by an absolute devotion to the service. Besides this they were with us, heart and soul, in the hour of our greatest need, and I think that after their own country there was none they loved so much as ours, in whose cause they had so often and so generously exposed their lives on the battlefield.

“ Soon after the beginning of our Peninsular War, the princes were urged by their friends in France to return at once to England, partly that they might receive the numerous friends of their party who were going over to see the Exhibition of 1862, and partly because the Mexican expedition had very much strained the relations between our country and France. However, they were determined to stay with the army until the end of the ‘seven days,’ and only decided to leave when they were convinced that further operations against Richmond were improbable. In a letter, enclosing his resignation, the comte de Paris wrote :—

“ ‘ I have the honour of sending you, herewith, my resignation, drawn up in the manner indicated by you. You know the imperative motives which necessitate the return of my brother and myself to Europe. It is with the deepest regret that we bid farewell to the army whose fate we have shared for so long, and in whose ranks we have found so cordial a welcome ; we are happy to have been able to postpone our de-

parture so as to have taken part with you in the great events of the last few days.'

"The time which elapsed between their return to Europe and the beginning of the war between France and Germany was spent by the young princes in literary work, and in travelling. Soon after the conclusion of our civil war the comte de Paris undertook the difficult task of writing a detailed history of this remarkable struggle. He brought to this work an amount of literary talent, impartiality, sound judgment, and patient labour, which, in the opinion of many competent judges, placed him in the first rank of the historians of our Civil War.

"He spared neither trouble nor expense in collecting the necessary information. The arrangement of his materials, the opinions expressed, the actual composition are entirely his own in the strictest sense of the word, not the work of another to which he has put his name. The first volume was published in 1874, the sixth, which appeared this year, takes in Gettysburg and Mine Run. While preparing this important book he was also engaged on other literary work of an entirely different character. On his return from America he found the cotton famine at its height, and he went to Manchester to study carefully the vast system organized there for the help of the suffering population of Lancashire. In order to give the information necessary for establishing the same system in France, he wrote an article called 'Christmas week in Lancashire,' which appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (February 1, 1863), signed Eugène Forcade,

the Imperial Government allowing no article to be published in France under the real name of one of the Orléans princes.

"His interest having been excited by this preliminary study of the state of the labouring classes, he pursued the subject with great ardour, and in 1869 published an extensive work on 'Trades Unions in England.'

"This book was a great success, and is remarkable for the quantity and accuracy of the information which it contains, for the justice of his conclusions, his impartiality, and the liberality and nobility of his sentiments. The last chapter on the future of the Trades' Unions, and on political liberty is, in reality, a *résumé* of the ideas of the writer on one of the most important functions of government. He advocates a very extended political liberty, entire freedom of the Press, the absolute right of forming associations, and of meeting to discuss openly all political, social and economic questions, considering this the best and only means of preventing those explosions of popular violence which, increased by repression, and by the natural tendency to take refuge in secret societies, have frequently produced such disastrous results in Europe. He believes that it is only by freedom of discussion that extremes of opinion can be rectified, and real, solid results obtained. This chapter, and in fact the entire book will amply repay the time spent on its study by those who are interested in the great question of the present and future, and the relation between capital and labour. He strongly upholds the system of a share in the profits, which he considers should be applied wherever circumstances render it possible."

General MacClellan then enumerates the works of the comte de Paris published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, all of which publications give a high idea of the literary talent of the prince, and of the power of his mind.*

On his return to Europe, M. le comte de Paris, by way of relaxation from the fatigues and duties of a soldier's life, gave himself up entirely to serious mental labour, for which he had been well prepared by the hard study of his youth. He published several important works on different subjects, which testify not only to a diversity of knowledge seldom met with even in men of a ripe age, but also to the true philanthropy of the writer and thinker. The titles of his works (which, as we have said, were obliged to appear in imperial France under names other than his own) will suffice to show the versatility of a mind strengthened by an education as thorough as it was varied. Some of these works on history, philosophy, and politics produced a marked sensation in France at the time of their publication; and, notwithstanding the pseudonym which had been adopted by the prince, and frequently changed, the real name of the author was known to society, and even to the papers.

It was at the end of 1862 that the prince (who had only returned in the month of July from the great American War in which he had fought so bravely, and which had resulted in the liberation of 4,000,000 of

* *The United Service Magazine*, of New York, having begged the comte de Paris to contribute a few pages on General MacClellan, who had just died, the prince sent a most interesting pamphlet which was published in the *Revue Militaire Suisse*, and in the *Avenir Militaire* in Paris May 13, 17, 20, 24, 27, 1887.

slaves) began to study for himself in detail the labour question. He visited the districts in the North of England, especially Lancashire, which was then going through a painful crisis. The American War had interfered with the production of cotton in the North of America, and in consequence the English cotton mills had to be closed. The misery was fearful, nearly 500,000 hands, men, women and children were thrown out of work, and were consequently without means of subsistence. England bestirred herself, and committees were formed in all directions for the relief of the destitute workpeople. The comte de Paris devoted the whole of Christmas week, 1862, to studying the organization of this charity. The *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Feb. 1, 1863) published a very interesting work by the prince, ending with these lines :—

“ One of the most splendid results of the progress of our century is the elevation of charity to the rank of a social duty, of a political right. . . . In order to have a complete and thorough understanding of the phenomena of the misery, and of the charity which misery calls forth, we must go back from the charity to the misery.”

Then he describes the distribution of charity at the Town Hall in Manchester, where men of great wealth and high rank came every day to pass several hours in a small, dark, low room, lighted all day with gas, in order to distribute help to the destitute.

After thoroughly mastering the working of the committee, the prince visited the places in which were arranged the presents received in kind. He also took

part in the distribution of provisions and various repasts, served to the children in the schools.

In England Christmas-day is kept as a general holiday. The committee wanted to celebrate the day with the "vast family of the poor." In the great manufacturing town of Blackburn all the poor were to be entertained in the largest room of the Town Hall. Every priest or minister was to bring his school.

"At 12.30," says the comte de Paris, "the town, just now so gloomy, presented an unusual holiday appearance. The different schools went in procession, preceded by the clergy in their robes, and accompanied in some cases by drums and every sort of flag. Thirty years ago such demonstrations, in so critical a moment as the present, must infallibly have caused trouble, but since that time we have made great progress! All the banners bore the inscription 'God save the Queen,' and all present tried only to forget the sufferings for which no one was to blame. Following the procession, I entered the hall, which was rapidly filling. The working men took their places in rows in front of long tables, crowded one against another. A platform had been erected for the visitors, but the clergy had their table laid in the midst of the working people, whose dinner they meant to share. After a sort of hymn had been sung by the workmen, standing, the dinner began cheerfully, and went on boisterously. Having eaten my share, I can testify to the excellence of the repast, and when I left the hall to catch my train, I met a long file of people carrying smoking dishes of roast beef up the stairs of the Town Hall. It was not necessary to wish a good appetite to these people, who

were taking so joyful a farewell of a year so full of suffering. However threatening may be the aspect of the new year, the satisfaction painted on all those honest faces gave me good hope for the future. I read in them not only the traces of a great crisis victoriously surmounted, thanks to the spontaneous charity of every rank of society, but also the pledge of a more intimate union between land-owners and the working classes—union founded on mutual confidence and esteem, and on the healthy understanding of common interests, which is the most certain guarantee of public order in a free people and the necessary basis of all liberty in our modern society.”

M. le comte de Paris might have passed this Christmas week in the luxurious mansion of some great personage in England, who would have given him the most cordial welcome; but he had preferred spending his time in studying on the spot all this misery, in order to learn how to alleviate it.

Two articles, written by the comte de Paris under the name of Eugène Forcade, appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. They were entitled “A Week in Lancashire” (Feb. 1, 1863), and “Modern Germany” (Aug. 1, 1867). The latter gave a sort of prophetic sketch of the development of Prussian military power, and of the constitution of Germany after Sadowa, and although our interest in it is now only retrospective, it is curious to see how the prince portrays Germany as not only the first military power in Europe, but as endeavouring to attain the same position in the colonies.

There also appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (May 15, 1868), under the signature of M. X. Ray-

mond, a very remarkable article, "The State Church and the Free Church in Ireland." The comte de Paris, when engaged in his study of the labour question at Manchester, had made there the acquaintance of an old working man, Mr. Mandley—one of those honest reformers, too rare, alas! in France, who trust to right, and not to violence, for the improvement of the condition of the working man. It was soon after this excursion that the prince wrote his book on English trades unions. This work, which was published in 1869, at first anonymously, obtained an enormous success, for all were struck by the accuracy of the information, and by the noble and liberal ideas of an author who is evidently so wrapped up in his subject.

The comte de Paris concludes his book on "English Trades Unions" * with the following lines, which not only show the liberality of his mind, but prove that he still retained the memory of his early education:—

"While tracing the influence of political liberty on social questions in England, we cannot but believe in the encouragement to be derived from it by those who study the future of these same questions in France. Shall we neglect to profit by the experience thus made, under pretext that the constitution of Great Britain is peculiar to itself? We think not, for that would be to exaggerate the importance of the ancient and complicated machinery of which it is composed. In fact, in spite of all artificial support, constitutions are only obedient to one motive power. That constitution in

* Paris, Germer-Baillière, 1869.

which powers, really independent, are allowed too free play, must be shattered by the collision, like a machine exposed to contrary forces.

"It is not this or that one thing, hitherto unknown, which has preserved the British Constitution throughout all the political and social transformations of our century; it is that motive power, destined to exercise in all free countries the same sovereign authority—the power of public opinion. However various may be, in different countries, the institutions by which this power acts, they are merely the translation into different languages of one and the same idea.

"Why should we, alone of all nations, be condemned to have no language in which to express this idea? We are not excluded more than other countries from that political liberty to which every race and every nation has a right. The remedy for all dangers arising from social questions is political liberty, and it is equally efficacious among all nations who know how to use it. There is not a single nation careful to maintain her rank in the world, who dares to treat liberty, the highest attribute of civilized man, as a simple luxury to be cherished to-day and cast off with impunity to-morrow."

"Such opinions," says M. Victorien Jusserand, with truth, in a curious and interesting work,* "find more echo in the heart of a people, than the elaborate and interested apologies for the life of those conquerors who have not advanced humanity by one step, who

* "*Le salut est là*," page 27, by M. Victorien Jusserand, Mayor of Montpensier (Puy-le-Dôme).

tortured and massacred hostages, and who were the executioners of Vercingetorix. Those who thus employ their years of exile have certainly no need to be envious of others who have been able to live in their own country ; and during these twenty-three years of the youth of Louis-Philippe's sons and grandsons, never by word or act did the princes either reproach France, or even remind her that they had been exiled without having violated a single law, without having deserved their fate, and after having faithfully served their country."

At the end of 1870 the *Courrier de la Gironde* published some articles by M. le comte de Paris, called "The Spirit of Conquest in 1870," which demonstrate the wisely liberal ideas of the author. When one reads these articles, it is impossible to help noticing how much the prince has read and seen, and how he could appreciate the advantages of a liberal-minded government.

This was the last work which the prince published during his long hours of exile.

In 1863 M. le duc de Chartres married his cousin, the princess Françoise de Joinville, and it was whispered that his brother was soon to follow his example.

On the 30th of May, 1864, M. le comte de Paris married his cousin Isabelle, eldest daughter of the duc de Montpensier, born at Séville, September the 21st, 1848. The nuptial benediction was given in the Roman Catholic chapel at Kingston, a little town in Surrey.*

* The banns of marriage of King Louis-Philippe's grandson, which were posted on the Mayor's office of the 11. Arrondissement,

The days preceding the 30th of May were devoted to brilliant receptions; first at Claremont, where Queen Marie Amélie resided, and then at the residence of the duc d'Aumale at Twickenham. Many French had come over, and each day added to the number of those who, without wishing to give a political character to this step, desired to prove their respectful sympathy with the royal exiles. In order to give a more lively and sociable tone to these receptions, the duchesse d'Aumale transformed them into small dances, to the great joy of the young princesses and all the guests. Among the princesses, the two young sisters of the future comtesse de Paris excited universal admiration on account of their refined beauty and distinguished appearance. The graceful princess Marguerite de Nemours, and the lovely princess Amélie of Coburg, daughter of princess Clémentine, were also much admired. These soirées dansantes at Orléans House gave great brilliancy to the receptions, at which the honours were done with perfect grace by M. le duc, and Mme. la duchesse d'Aumale.

in Paris, April, 1864, were described by the Imperial Government in the following peculiar terms :—

“ Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, comte de Paris, *no profession*, living with his maternal grandmother, Marie Amélie de Bourbon, widow of Louis Philippe d'Orléans, comte de Neuilly, at the Palace of Claremont, Surrey, and whose last dwelling-place in France was the Tuileries, 11. arrondissement, son of Ferdinand Philippe Louis Charles Henri d'Orléans, duc d'Orléans, and of Hélène Louise Elisabeth de Mecklenburg-Schwerin his wife, both deceased ;

And Marie Isabelle Françoise d'Orléans, infanta of Spain, *no profession*, living with her father and mother at the Palace of San-Telmo, Séville (Spain), a minor ; daughter of Antoine Marie Philippe Louis d'Orléans, duc de Montpensier, and of Marie Louise Ferdinande de Bourbon, infanta of Spain, his wife.”



Lejeune Jolyot Photo

Helio & Dujardin

MADAME LA COMTESSE DE PARIS

L'errin & C^{ie} Edit.

Imp Ch. Chardon.



We have now arrived at the 30th of May. A most unusual activity has reigned at Claremont for the last week, the palace has been turned by magic into a French colony, which has invaded the neighbouring towns and villages of Esher, Kingston, and Twickenham. The park is filled with French from every province of France, and every sort of accent is heard—Parisian, Provençal, Flemish, Lorraine, &c.

The park at Claremont is close to the village of Esher, and the entire population of the village and the neighbouring hamlets are astir in their best holiday attire ; great and small are busy making wreaths of flowers, putting the finishing touches to the evergreen arches, and decorating the windows with the French colours.

Leaving Esher, and following the Thames, one arrives at Kingston (the town of the King), which has retained of all its former splendour nothing but the stone seat on which the Kings were crowned in the time of the Heptarchy. The whole space is thronged with men, women, and children, all wearing tricolor ribands. At the entrance to the little town an immense crowd is making its way to the Roman Catholic Chapel, hidden among the splendid trees near the river, which at this point is as clear as crystal, for it is at this little Church that the marriage of the comte de Paris is to be solemnized.

It is 10 o'clock, the ceremony is not to begin for another half-hour, and yet the Church is full, as is also the large tent erected to the right of the porch, to make up, as much as possible, for the want of room inside. The road to right and left for some distance

is occupied by those who have been unable to gain admission to either tent or Chapel.

Among those present were nearly all the members of the Diplomatic Body, the *élite* of English society, and a great number of French notabilities.

At 10.30 a tremendous cheering is heard outside. After a moment of expectancy the venerable Queen appears, leaning on the arm of the young prince, and moves slowly up the Church. All rise and bow low before this august woman, whose features bear the impress of so much suffering, and all gaze with lively emotion and true veneration on the widow of Louis-Philippe. The young prince, supporting her carefully, returned with quiet dignity the salutations of those near him. The Princess Isabelle arrived almost immediately after him; all her movements expressed a simple dignity, and her beauty was indescribably charming. The bride and bridegroom elect then placed themselves in front of their illustrious parents, but before Mass was celebrated, Dr. Grant, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Southwark, who had received the royal family at the porch, returned to the altar, and delivered a short and touching address to the young couple. Mass was then celebrated with reverent devotion.

On quitting the Church, the Queen Marie Amélie, leaning on the arm of the comte d'Eu, was greeted with enthusiastic cheers. A body of young girls, daughters of the principal French tradesmen in London, advanced towards Madame la comtesse de Paris, who was on her husband's arm, and presented her with a bouquet, and an address of congratulation.

The princess thanked the young girl who had spoken in the name of her companions, and kissed her on the forehead, while the prince said a few cordial words to her.

They returned to Claremont through the midst of a crowd of spectators, who had come from the neighbouring villages to greet the newly-married pair. Triumphal arches, decorated with wreaths of flowers and escutcheons bearing the fleur-de-lys, and dressed with the tricolor flag, had been erected at regular intervals. The arrival of the royal bride and bridegroom at Claremont was announced by a salvo of artillery, and by a flourish of trumpets from the band of the volunteers.

A deputation from the village of Esher was then presented to the young prince, and one of the villagers delivered a short speech in the name of his companions. The comte de Paris, in his reply, thanked them all for their sympathy, which, he said, was a great consolation to him, and to his family in all the trials of their exile.

At this moment the arrival of the Prince and Princess of Wales, and of the other members of the English royal family was announced, and they all adjourned to the banquet which was served in a tent, or rather in a splendid pavilion 140 feet long. A genuine emotion animated the guests as the Queen arose, and, surrounded by her devoted friends, and by the dearly-loved faces of her sons and grandsons (some of whom were already grown to manhood, while the youngest, in all the happy ignorance of childhood, were pressing round her), drank the health of M. le comte and Mme.

la comtesse de Paris, in the midst of profound silence and respectful attention. The toast was received with enthusiasm, and followed by shouts of "Long Live the Queen!"

At 8 o'clock the ball began at the house of M. le duc de Chartres. At 11 o'clock a splendid supper was served in a tent, so arranged as to receive 250 guests, who sat down to a table spread with great magnificence. At midnight they returned to the ball-room, and dancing began again. This ball-room, which was really a tent, like the supper tent, decorated with flowers and tricolor flags, was filled with lovely toilettes vying with each other in elegance, and presented a truly dazzling sight. The cotillon conducted with great spirit by the duc de Chartres, who danced with Mme. d'Harcourt (now the comtesse d'Haussonville), was prolonged till 2 o'clock in the morning.

Such were the festivities of May the 30th, 1864—a joyful day not to be forgotten in the midst of the sorrows and bitterness of exile. Sorrow was soon to overtake the royal family. The saintly Queen Marie Amélie sank peacefully to rest at Claremont, March 24th, 1866, after 83 years of a life in which sorrow—most nobly borne—had had so large a share.

Six months before her death the Queen had had the joy of welcoming a great-grandchild, the princess Amélie, born September the 28th, 1865.

Some weeks after the mournful March the 24th, the duc d'Aumale was nearly overwhelmed by a terrible grief; his eldest son, the prince de Condé, died of typhoid fever at Sydney (Australia) May the 24th, 1866.

Three years passed, during which the comte de Paris made several short excursions on the Continent, but he was often back in England, where he busied himself with those literary labours, which were such a valuable resource to him in his exile. On the 6th of February, 1869, Mme. la comtesse de Paris gave birth to a son, the duc d'Orléans, an event which caused the greatest joy, not only to the comte de Paris, but to all the French who had remained faithful to the House of Orléans. In 1867 the comte de Paris undertook a third journey to Spain, in order that the comtesse de Paris should see her parents again. Up to this time he had not had any fixed residence, but he now decided on taking York House, close to Twickenham, and to his uncles, the duc d'Aumale and the prince de Joinville. He gave himself up in this quiet retreat to the study of political economy, which obliged him from time to time to travel in England and America.

On the 6th of December, 1869, Madame la duchesse d'Aumale succumbed to the illness from which she had long been suffering, and her loss inflicted another blow on the royal family.

In the early days of 1870 the princes had reason to hope that their exile would soon terminate.

In June, 1870, the comte de Paris joined with his uncles in demanding from the Corps Législatif the restitution of their rights as French citizens, but the petition was rejected. Shortly after this France was plunged, by the caprice of one man, into war with Prussia. We will describe elsewhere the conduct of the princes during the invasion.

The Orléans princes, whose consciences were clear of any attempt against the laws of their country, thought it their duty to address the following letter to the Corps Législatif :—

“ GENTLEMEN,—

“ You have before you a petition that you will repeal the law which condemned us to exile. In presence of this petition we can no longer keep silence. Since 1848, during the reign of the Republic, we have always protested against the law which exiles us, a law which had nothing to justify it then, which has had nothing to justify it since, and against which we desire to renew our protestations before the representatives of the country. It is not a favour that we ask, we demand a right which belongs to every Frenchman, and of which we alone are deprived. It is our country that we claim, a country that we love, which our family has always loyally served, from which we are not divided by any of our traditions, and the very name of which makes our pulses quicken, for there is nothing which can take the place of his country in the heart of an exile.

“ LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS, comte de Paris.

“ FRANÇOIS D'ORLEANS, prince de Joinville.

“ HENRI D'ORLEANS, duc d'Aumale.

“ ROBERT D'ORLEANS, duc de Chartres.

“ *Twickenham, 19th June, 1870.*”

The comte de Kératry had, at the beginning of the session of July the 2nd, begged the Minister of Justice, M. Emile Ollivier, to declare whether there was in

the archives of the ministry a single document to prove that the princes had conspired or attempted to conspire since 1848.

The Minister replied that Government had absolutely nothing to say, but the Bonapartist majority moved and carried the rejection of the princes' petition by 173 votes to 31.

After the division, the comte de Paris wrote the following letter to M. de Kératry, whom he had never seen :—

“ *Twickenham, July 4th, 1870.*

“ SIR,—

“ As the gates of France still remain closed to us, it is from a distance that I have to convey to you the feelings of emotion with which I read your speech of Saturday last in the Chamber. You acted indeed as an honest man, as a deputy faithful to his country, when you asked whether there existed a single proof to justify the penalties inflicted on us. You have caused the truth to shine forth, and have shown in a few words how odious and contrary to modern principles of legality and national sovereignty are those measures which condemn a whole family of citizens to exile—ironically called a *privileged* state.

“ I am happy in being able to thank you for the manner in which you have defended us—you, a member of the young generation which has faith in the liberal future of France, and which, looking forward rather than backwards, finds in the memories of the past lessons and examples, rather than motives for bitterness and dissension. No barrier will be able to

separate us from our country, for we share in her ardent devotion to the decrees of the will of the nation, sole and sovereign arbiter of the destinies of France.

"The rejection of our demand would have grieved us deeply had we regarded it as definite; we had no intention of raising a fruitless debate, but we think that in putting the question of the laws of exile before the Chamber and before France, we have hastened the day when these laws shall fall under the censure of the public.

"You have pleaded the cause of right, of a right common to us all, for the *right of exile* cannot exist in presence of universal suffrage, and of the sovereignty which belongs to it. Public opinion has spoken so clearly on this point, that I feel convinced that the decision arrived at by the Chamber in obedience to a powerful majority cannot long be maintained.

"I conclude by assuring you of the gratitude of those who have seen you fighting their battles at a distance without being allowed to take part in the struggle.

"With sincere regards, I remain

"your affectionate

"LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS."

But a crisis is at hand; war is declared, and the French army is defeated. On hearing of these disasters the princes had demanded permission to serve with the army, but it had been refused them; first by the Imperial Government, and subsequently by the Provisionary Government of the Republic.

We hope to describe at greater length in a volume

which will follow this book, the admirable conduct of the duc de Chartres, who, more fortunate than his uncle, the prince de Joinville, went through the French campaign under the name of Robert le Fort.

It was at this time that M. le comte de Paris wrote the following letter to General comte Dumas :—

“ Twickenham, August 20th, 1870.

“ What terrible events have happened in the last thirteen days! What blows to the heart of a Frenchman! You will understand all that we suffer in this national disaster, which is aggravated by our being condemned to remain idle spectators. The refusal of Government to grant the demand of my brother and my uncles is, in the present state of things, a cruel blow. It was this rebuff which prevented the delivery of a letter of mine to Government, written at the same time as theirs, which had arrived in Paris shortly after mine. What agony to think that if the Prussians besiege Paris, there will not be one of the House of Orléans to take part in the defence of those fortifications—the last bulwark of France—which were raised thirty years ago by Louis-Philippe and the duc d’Orléans, and what is perhaps still harder is that our disinterested entreaties will probably be regarded as the outcome of a restless ambition. But do not let us think of ourselves; let us only think of that noble army which has to defend the honour of France, and of the many recruits who will save Paris and our country from this last crowning humiliation.

“ Yours always,

“ LOUIS PHILIPPE D’ORLEANS.”

Disasters accumulate. In spite of prodigies of valour, the French army is overwhelmed by superior numbers. The Orléans princes again demand from the French Government the right of defending their country thus invaded by the enemy, but in vain. The Government of National Defence, oblivious of the duties imposed on it by its very title, refuses their courageous services. The arrival of the enemy before the walls of Paris causes the keenest grief to the prince. He remembers that it is his birthplace, and that the walls behind which France shelters herself were built by his grandfather Louis-Philippe.

He determined to make one more supreme effort to move the Government of National Defence. He wrote to General de Chabaud-Latour, requesting to be allowed the honour of joining in the defence of Paris, and offering to return into exile as soon as the last shot should have been fired.

General Trochu, to whom this letter was taken by General de Chabaud-Latour, sent a fresh refusal.

The following is the text of the letter in which the comte de Paris expressed to General Chabaud-Latour the deep sorrow which he experienced in being thus cruelly condemned to inaction by the ill-will of the Government :—

" January 17th, 1871.

" You must know what I suffer in being condemned to remain an inactive spectator of the heroic struggle of my countrymen. I must say that such a possibility had never entered my mind ; had any one told me that the time would come that I should be refused any sort

of place among the defenders of the national cause when, the Empire overthrown and the Republic established in its place, the enemy was besieging the capital, I should never have believed him. It seemed to me that the traditions of our family, the memory of my father, who was above all a Frenchman, to the exclusion of any thought of succession, must give me the right to claim the honour of fighting with the French army, with my father's will in my hand, and that none could forbid an Orléans to take his place on the fortifications of Paris, which are the work of my grandfather, the soldier of Jemmapes. . . .

“Failing this, we should all have been ready to take our place as citizens in the armies of the provinces. It seemed to us that nothing could be advanced in opposition to this disinterested request. Indeed, when my uncles and my brother went to Paris on the 6th of September, the only reason which could be assigned for the refusal was the fear that, so soon after the Revolution, their names might serve in the capital as a pretext for civil war.

“This reason, feeble as it was, could not have prevented us serving in the provinces ; and if our presence had made any stir in France, the only result would have been to rally round a Republic, which we were loyally accepting and defending, those Liberals who would have been frightened by the sound of a Republic, but who would have been reconciled to this form of Government by our adhesion to it.

“The delegates of Tours-Bordeaux thought themselves unable to reverse the decision of the Government. They could not understand how completely the

situation had changed ; or rather they dreaded to alienate those fanatics who abuse the name of the Republic, and endeavour to impose their ideas on liberal and moderate Republicans.

“Under these circumstances I wrote direct to General Trochu, begging him, in his capacity of President of the existing Government, to annul the decree which has hitherto prevented me from carrying arms in defence of France. I have not yet had his answer. Should it be favourable, I shall be ready to serve under an assumed name, so as not to hurt the most susceptible feelings. All that I ask for is an order from one of the ministers, permitting M. X—— to join one of the divisions of the army which shall be indicated, and to obtain whatever employment he can get. The Government and its President alone need know that I am M. X——, for I shall not attempt to force my way into the French army without his knowledge.

“I think you must understand how galling this inaction is to me at the present moment, and I want to convince you that I have done all that lies in my power to escape from it.”

When one has finished the account of this exile, borne with such courage and such undying patriotism, one can only repeat with M. Hervé : “What more noble royal family could France find, to heal her wounds, repair her ruins, and restore her self-respect in the eyes of Europe ?”

CHAPTER III.

1871-1873.

ABROGATION of the laws of exile (June, 1871)—Birth of H.R.H. princess Hélène (June 8, 1871)—Return of the princes to France—The manifesto of Chambord (July 5, 1871)—The Orléans princes in the French army—Bill presented by Government for the restitution of the princes' property—The truth on the subject of this bill—Generosity of the princes towards France in giving half their fortune to the country—The comte de Paris takes up his residence in Paris with the duc d'Aumale—His receptions—His life in Paris—Excursions in France—Visits to different mines—First visit to Eu and to the Packham Mills—Excursions to Brittany, Normandy, and to Aix—The prince publishes his work on "The State of the Working Classes in England" (March, 1873)—He goes to Africa (May, 1873)—Fall of the Thiers' ministry—MacMahon becomes President—The comte de Paris goes to Vienna (July, 1873)—The interview at Frohsdorf Aug. 5, 1873—Union of the two branches of the House of Bourbon—A union desired by Louis Philippe, and announced by M. Guizot in 1850—The Orléans princes at the comte de Chambord's (September and October, 1873)—Great excitement throughout France—Manœuvres of the republicans to stem the royalist tide—The judgment of the comte de Chambord on the comte de Paris—The comte de Chambord and the royalist deputies—Anecdotes: the comte de Chambord in Bavaria—Prince Napoleon on the restoration of the monarchy—The letter of the comte de Chambord, Oct. 27, 1873—Certain of the law to re-establish monarchy—The comte de Chambord at Versailles (Nov., 1873)—Extension of the powers of Marshal MacMahon—Death of prince Ferdinand, brother of the comtesse de Paris (December, 1873).

THE war has come to an end, peace has been declared, events have succeeded each other with startling rapidity, and to the grief of defeat is added the misery of a fearful civil war. The only consolation to be

derived from all these misfortunes is the thought that the honour of France is untarnished, thanks to the immortal defence of Paris and the heroic efforts of the army under General Chanzy.

The departments of Haute Marne, Manche, and Oise had returned the prince de Joinville and the duc d'Aumale to the National Assembly. The country had at length remembered the true patriotism of the princes. The prince de Joinville had always been extremely popular in the navy, for he was cheerful, affable, even on duty; prompt and yet collected in action, always careful of the material and moral welfare of his men, and eager to employ them on great enterprises. The nation had never forgotten his name, nor that of his brother the duc d'Aumale, the hero of the Smallah, the intrepid general, the able organiser of the army, and the efficient governor of Algiers, in which country the liveliest recollection of him was still cherished.

The fall of the Imperial Government, and the repeal of the law of exile, passed by the National Assembly on the 8th of June, 1871, recalled M. le comte de Paris to his native land.

He returned with the firm decision of uniting the two branches of the House of Bourbon. In March, 1871, his uncles the duc d'Aumale and the prince de Joinville, had declared to the most influential of the legitimist deputies at Dreux, that in the House of Orléans there was no candidate to the throne, and that if France desired the restoration of the monarchy, the comte de Chambord would find no competitor among the princes of their house. This interview had decided

the Right to vote unanimously, notwithstanding the influence of M. Thiers, for the abrogation of the laws of exile.

The prince de Joinville and the duc d'Aumale took up their quarters at Versailles, 48 rue de Satory, at the house of one of their faithful adherents, M. Bocher, member for Calvados. 'The ducs de Chartres, de Nemours, d'Alençon, and de Penthièvre arrived in Paris a few days later, and went to the hôtel de Londres, in the rue de Castiglione, where the first visit they paid was to the comte de Montalivet, an old friend of the King's, and the impartial, conscientious historian of the July monarchy.

M. le comte de Paris was detained at Twickenham by his wife, who on the 12th of June gave birth to a daughter, their third child, princess Hélène.

In the month of July he arrived in Paris, and after staying a few days with the comte de Ségur, he went to reside for some months with M. G. de Villeneuve, the son-in-law of M. de Montalivet, in his splendid house in the avenue de Messine.

The "commission des grades," presided over by General Changarnier, had unanimously proposed to Government to retain the duc de Chartres in the army with the rank of major, which he had so well earned. At the end of August the duc de Chartres, who had just been created chevalier de la légion d'honneur, in recognition of his splendid services during the war, started to join his regiment, the 3rd Chasseurs d'Afrique, then stationed in the province of Constantine, and preparing for a severe campaign, which was to last all the winter.

Shortly before his departure to Africa, in August, 1871, it had been suggested that he should accompany his brother, the comte de Paris, on a visit to M. le comte de Chambord. The princes had always openly maintained that the restoration of monarchy in France could only be brought about by the union of all the adherents of the monarchy. As the comte de Paris and the duc de Chartres were about to start for Chambord, their cousin sent them the following note:—

“The comte de Chambord has heard with pleasure the kind intention of his cousins; he will be delighted to receive the comte de Paris at Chambord, but he thinks it his duty to warn his cousin that he means to draw up at Chambord a document in which will be resolved *some questions reserved to this day*, and that he will then take his departure for Bruges.”

The comte de Chambord, with that perfect loyalty that he always showed, was anxious not to be suspected of having wanted to publish his manifesto until the visit of the Orléans princes, and thus to have laid a trap for them.

It was thus that the famous manifesto of July the 5th, 1871, appeared.

The princes did not pay their intended visit to Chambord, but the comte de Paris, in expressing his regret at not seeing his cousin at that moment, declared that he had not at all given up the hope of paying the visit, which he should consider as merely postponed.

The head of the House of Bourbon knew how to appreciate such a step when, at the very time that he

was treading on French soil for the first time for forty-one years, he was about to take so important a step as the publication of this manifesto.

"Was it then impossible to reconcile the colours, after reconciling the persons and the causes which they represented? The principal thing was already done, and it seemed, indeed, an irony of fate that the minor part could not be accomplished." *

The end of 1871 was a happy time for the Orléans princes. M. le duc de Chartres had realized the ambition of his life; he was serving in the French army. M. le duc d'Alençon and M. le duc de Penthièvre were also in the service, the former in the 12th Regiment of artillery, the latter as lieutenant on board the *Ocean*, which was cruising all the winter in the Mediterranean. M. le duc de Guise (the last surviving child of M. le duc d'Aumale), who was hardly 18, had been at the Lycée Condorcet since October, 1871, preparing for the École polytechnique.

It was at this time that the question was brought before the Chamber of the restoration of the property belonging to the Orléans family, of which they had been so shamefully despoiled in 1852.

The comte de Montalivet, the friend of the princes, and executor under the will of King Louis-Philippe, published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Dec. 1, 1872) a most interesting account of the confiscation of this property by Louis Napoleon in 1852. This article had a great success, and prepared the National Assembly for the work of justice and reparation.

It is well to remember what is often forgotten—viz.,

* "Henri de France," by H. de Pène, p. 378.

the generosity of the Orléans princes. "In vain," says M. de Montalivet, "did the interested advocates of Cæsarism, uniting with the last representatives of dying but inveterate feuds, endeavour to bewilder men's minds by strange exaggerations, and to surround with obstacles a solution which affects at the same time the rights of the victims of spoliation, the security of those who had bought the property so unjustly sold, and the finances of the State which was debtor to a considerable amount. There is no need for upright men to be alarmed, a spirit of equity will modify what the letter of the law would have rendered too rigorous. The despoiled princes have never raised their voices, except in the cause of justice and of filial piety. From the very first day they had outstripped public opinion by making a formal explanation on this subject without being called upon to do so. They demanded that the security of the buyers should be guaranteed by law, and at the same time they declared that when they entered into possession of the remains of their fortunes, they would lay no claim to any money which had been realized by the decree of confiscation. They will thus participate, to the amount which justice will have suggested to the National Assembly, in the sacrifices imposed on all good citizens by the misfortunes of their country. Thus will be closed this account with the past, which will only be remembered as branding the anti-social decree which originated it, and as doing honour to the two Republican Governments which, separated by an interval of twenty-three years, have agreed firmly to maintain the sacred right of property."

The assembly, while accomplishing this act of justice, and re-opening the gates of France to the Orléans princes, found itself obliged to consider a most important question. On the 22nd of January, 1852, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had arbitrarily confiscated the private fortune of the Orléans princes, which had been respected by the Republic of 1848. The State was less scrupulous, and in 1852 took possession of all the domains, woods, stocks and shares which were entirely the private property of the Orléans family, and which were valued by the Minister of Finance at 80,000,000 francs. Half of this property had been sold, the State administered the other half, and consequently enjoyed the revenues of this fortune. The Ministers of the Republic unanimously demanded from the Assembly the restoration to the princes of the *remains of their fortunes*, the House of Orléans offering, with a truly great magnanimity and self-sacrifice, to renounce all claim on that part of the property which had been sold, and thus giving *half* their fortune to France.

Did this law of 1872 impose any sacrifice on the State? No. It only gave the princes possession of that part of their fortune which the State had *kept back*, without impoverishing the treasury by one centime.

The enemies of the House of Orléans made great capital out of this restitution, and did not hesitate to criticize severely the action of the princes.

To recapitulate. The total fortune of all the members of the royal family had, at the time of the confiscation in 1852, been roughly valued at 80,000,000 francs; the Imperial government had realized the half

of this sum, 40,000,000, which, without pretext, and in violation of every law, found their way into the coffers of the State. The Government had wanted at the time to sell the whole of the property, by which they would have realized 80,000,000, but no purchasers could be found for these ill-gotten gains; public conscience in France was too honest! When the princes returned to their country in 1871 the State was (as we have already said) administering and enjoying the revenues of their remaining fortune. What course did the Orléans princes pursue? Simply and spontaneously they abandoned to the State all claims, not only on the 40,000,000 which had been sold, but also on the accumulated revenue of those 40,000,000 which had been unjustly detained by the State for the last twenty years.

"France," said they, "has suffered, the country is overwhelmed by the expenses of the unlucky war with Germany, we will take our share; we do not desire to disturb the purchasers in the possession of our property. We abandon the 40,000,000 to France."

The Assembly recognized the generosity of this sacrifice, and the ministers of justice and of finance only demanded the restoration to the lawful owners, of that portion of the property that had not been sold. The princes received about 40,000,000, which were divided into sixteen parts.

Two splendid speeches were made on the 23rd and 24th of November, 1872, by M. Bocher, member for Calvados, and prefect of Caen in 1848, who from that time had devoted his whole life to defending the

memory of King Louis-Philippe and the cause of his sons and grandsons, with a devotion which neither fatigue nor the persecution of the Second Empire could ever diminish.

A first rate orator, respected and looked up to, even by his political adversaries, M. Bocher is an ornament to the French Chamber, his talents are only equalled by his modesty, and in his present position of member for Calvados, his advice is always welcomed and appreciated by the comte de Paris. Though endowed with all the qualities of a statesman, he would never accept the portfolio which was several times offered him by Marshal MacMahon, and though certain of being unanimously elected to the Académie Française, where he would have had a high place, he refused, in spite of urgent requests, to present himself for election. . . . In one word, he was a grand character, and an eminent public man.

This is the whole truth about the question of the princes' fortune. We are convinced that the impartial reader will exclaim with us, "Who is it, then, that benefits by it? Is it the princes? Is it France?" Before throwing one stone at the Orléans princes, let those who now criticize them, follow their example, *by making France a present of half their fortune!*

In the division which the princes made of their property, the comte de Paris received the castle and domain of Eu, and the historic castle of Amboise. The complete restoration which the latter required was carried out under the able direction of Viollet-le-Duc, and the great tower was entirely re-constructed. Every year M. le comte de Paris came for a few hours

to Amboise to inspect everything himself; he devoted annually a considerable sum to the castle, and to the preservation of the historical memories of the Valois. Even up to 1886 he went to assure himself that his orders were faithfully executed.

It was at Eu that the comte de Paris spent the greatest part of the year. The principal façade of the castle looks on to the town of Eu, opposite the church which contains the monuments of the comtes d'Eu in the 13th and 14th centuries. The other side looks on the garden and fields, beyond which there is a distant view of Tréport and the sea. To the left of the castle is a clump of magnificent old trees, forming a circular group, said to have been planted by duc François de Guise, who built the castle. He was the celebrated warrior who successfully defended Metz against Charles V. and recovered Calais from the English. "La grande Mademoiselle," granddaughter of Henry IV., became the owner of this fine property, which she bequeathed to the comte de Toulouse, from whom it passed to the House of Orléans. The King Louis-Philippe delighted in the place; it was there that he • entertained the Queen of England, who speaks of it with admiration in her memoirs. The comte de Paris, aided by the refined and cultivated taste of the comtesse de Paris, revived the former splendour of the castle, and made it his principal residence.

Towards the end of 1871, the duc d'Aumale received the reward of the important literary work to which he had devoted the enforced leisure of his exile. On the 30th of December, 1871, he was appointed, almost unanimously and without a rival, to the Chair in the

French Academy, vacant by the death of M. le comte de Montalembert.

Shortly afterwards, princess Marguerite, the eldest daughter of the duc de Nemours, was married to prince Czartoryski, an event which caused great satisfaction to the Orléans princes and the royal family, all of whom were present at the ceremony, excepting the dukes de Chartres and de Penthièvre, who were detained by military duties. The marriage took place at the castle of Chantilly on the 15th of January, 1872, and the nuptial benediction was given by M. Dupanloup, bishop of Orléans.

The princes spent the rest of the winter of 1872 in Paris. The duc d'Aumale had bought l'hôtel Fould, 129 rue du faubourg St. Honoré, and had given up the first floor to his nephew, the comte de Paris. For three months the duc d'Aumale received his friends on Sunday evenings, and these very select receptions exhibited to all those who had not known him at Twickenham, the gracious affability with which the prince welcomed all who were presented to him.

M. le comte de Paris also opened his hospitable doors in the faubourg St. Honoré. Like his father, the duc d'Orléans, he is tall and thin, and has a grave expression of countenance. His eyes have a delightful expression of sweetness and goodness; he talks sometimes rather slowly, as though he weighed each word; his manner is kind and sympathetic towards strangers, and he has the same extreme amiability as his mother, the duchesse d'Orléans, who, of all the royal family, knew best how to say a gracious word to all. The comte de Paris possesses in a high degree

the art of pleasing. All those who have the honour of his acquaintance, to whatever class of society they belong, feel that the more they know him the more they are attracted by him, the more they love him, and are loud in their praises of his superior intellect. He has a wide range of knowledge, and when he wants to work up a subject, he studies, makes deep researches, and does not shrink from any trouble or any journey which will give him the information he wants. He possesses all the moderation of language, the tact, and the keen political insight of a skilled diplomatist. He has also another quality most valuable in a prince, he knows how to listen to an opinion contrary to his own, and is anxious to find out the truth on every subject. He is at the same time firm and resolute, he knows how to come to a decision without hesitation, and without weakness or obstinacy he sees that his wishes are carried out—truly a grand quality in a prince who may one day be called upon to reign! It has been truly said of him:—

“ Like all cautious temperaments, which only by degrees acquire strength, and appropriating, so to speak, the experience of each day, increase their intellectual patrimony and assimilate the things they have studied and the knowledge they have acquired, the comte de Paris only built up by degrees his present personal influence. He did not attain his object at once by those brilliant flashes which pierce like a dart, but by slow persuasion and by constant proofs of mental power. Each day testified more clearly to his force of judgment, to his clearness of insight, and to the grasp of his mind. The eldest son of the duc d’Orléans forms





S.A.R. PHILIPPE DUC D'ORLEANS

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his own judgments, and urged on by an insatiable desire to see and know everything, will certainly continue to form them with greater decision." *

M. Edouard Hervé draws the following picture of M. le comte de Paris in 1872 :—

"The situation in which M. le comte de Paris finds himself becomes more and more delicate, and his *rôle* more and more difficult. Fortunately Providence, which has placed him in the midst of so many dangers, has given him the powers necessary to escape them—an infallible judgment, an undaunted presence of mind, and lastly that uprightness of character which is sometimes more clever than cleverness itself. France has ignored, and may perhaps always ignore it, but for a long time she has not possessed such a thorough or complete politician. He has the same profound powers of reflection as William of Orange, with the grace and charm of manner which were so wanting in the melancholy founder of constitutional monarchy in England."

All those who know the head of the House of France will recognize, as we do, the justice of these remarks. We once heard a diplomatist representing one of the great European powers in Paris, apply to the comte de Paris the saying of Metternich about the dukes of Orléans and Nemours after their journey to Vienna in 1836 :

"I will honestly own," said the statesman, "that the comte de Paris was not in the least understood by my colleagues and myself in Paris, but now we all know and appreciate him, for he is a young man whom one

* Charles Yriarte, "Les princes d'Orléans."

seldom meets, and a prince whose equal one never meets.”

M. le comte de Paris no doubt enjoys the world, but there is nothing that he delights in more than simple home life with Madame la comtesse de Paris, his daughters, the princesses Hélène, Isabelle and Louise, the young duc d'Orléans (whose features remind one of Louis XIV.), and his youngest child, prince Ferdinand. To this portrait of the new head of the House of France I will add some lines, written by one who was no doubt a friend, but who knew how to pass a judgment on the man as well as the prince :—

“ M. le comte de Paris is tall, and has an excellent carriage, his manner is quick and decided, his forehead broad and open, his deep blue eyes shine with intelligence and goodness. There is a portrait of him, painted by Winterhalter in 1845, which has been engraved, and in which the little prince is represented standing up and holding in his hand a large hat with long white feathers sweeping the ground. The most striking part of this picture is the eyes, which are the same to this day ; the serious, manly features of middle age still retain the straightforward smiling expression of the child.”

M. le comte de Paris, faithful to the recollections of his youth, lives in the midst of his family portraits, and of those pictures which reproduce the principal events of the Algerian wars in which his father and his uncles took part. Two miniatures of the duke and duchess d'Orléans are always before him on his writing-table.

Not less faithful to his friendships, he has not lost sight of one of those who, during his long years of exile, came to seek him in England. There is not one of them who, in the time of joy or sorrow, has not received some token of his interest in the shape of some delicate and touching attention, dictated by a heart which never forgets.

If the prince on the battle-fields of America has given proof of a courage which nothing can daunt, he showed at Vienna as much tact as decision in the midst of all the incidents attending the death of M. le comte de Chambord. His mind has a wide range, and he is at the same time energetic and collected. He neglects nothing which can teach or enlighten him upon any subject before making up his mind; but having made it up, nothing can shake his resolution. He will not be influenced or controlled by any one. He listens with the same attention to the advice of the most important personages as to the opinion of his humblest friends; he then forms his determination with true good sense, and a remarkable freedom of judgment. As soon as he discovers a duty, he hastens to do it with the same impetuosity that made him dash forward to the charge on the plains of Virginia. The words spoken of his ancestor Henry IV. may be applied with truth to him, "the last in council, the foremost in action." Such is this prince, who would have been a remarkable man and without an equal in whatever condition of life he might have been placed. He has been made what he is by the events of his life, by the blood which flows in his veins, and by the examples which have surrounded him from his cradle,

which have formed and directed his youth, and whose names are one of our national glories.

A descendant of those kings who, at the point of the sword, have made France what she is, and who have set in their crown those two precious pearls, since lost by others, Alsace and Lorraine, the comte de Paris knows that the princes of his race have found their glory only in the aggrandisement of their country, and it was while he was spelling out the history of his family, that he learnt his devotion to his country.

Madame la comtesse de Paris, who has the Bourbon type of face, is a tall, fair, beautiful princess, of a graceful figure. Whether in her own salon, or in that of the duc d'Aumale, where on her return to France she did the honours together with her aunt, Mme. la princesse Clémentine de Saxe-Coburg Gotha (the princess whose life was passed far from her country, but whose heart had always remained French*), the comtesse de Paris receives her friends with a perfect grace, and with that dignity which proves her to be indeed a daughter of our kings. She is a capital horse-woman, and was very fond of hunting at Chantilly. She is as passionately devoted to France as her

* A certain paper published the most absurd calumny against the husband of princess Clémentine, the duke of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, and against his son, and his nephew, prince Philip of Würtemberg. Certain journalists had the impudence to say, knowing perfectly that their statement was false, that these princes had served in the Prussian army, and had fought against France in the late war. Not only is this statement entirely erroneous, but in 1866 the duke and his son fought in the Austrian army against the Prussians at Sadowa. As for prince Philip of Würtemberg, he did his utmost, during the terrible winter of 1870, to alleviate the sufferings of the unfortunate French prisoners in their damp cells.

husband. At Twickenham, and again now in England, she surrounded herself with all that could remind her of her country. She is an excellent musician, and has a superb voice. Her favourite composer is Gounod, whose compositions she delights in performing in private. She proves by the simplicity and perfect taste of her dress, that it is easy to look lovely without the exaggerated luxury which prevailed under the second Empire.

We should like to say a word on the subject of the discords which are said to have existed between the comte de Paris and his uncle the duc d'Aumale. *They have never existed for a single day*, and the ridiculous report that the princes had each his partisans was invented by the enemies of the House of Orléans, who endeavour in vain to persuade the country that there are many different Orléans parties. The Republicans could not endure the sight of a royal family so thoroughly united, or of a country which is daily more determined to find in herself a resource against Cæsarism and demagogism—those two great enemies of order and of human dignity (as M. de Montalivet so justly calls them) which hold together, are often allied, and always succeed one another.

A great misfortune was about to befall the royal family. The duc de Guise, the only surviving son of the duc d'Aumale, and who had been, since the death of the prince de Condé, his father's one joy and consolation, died on the 25th of July, 1872, after five or six days' illness of scarlet fever, against which all the devoted care of the skilful Dr. Guéneau de Mussy was powerless to contend. He was about to pass

the examination for the degree of Bachelor of science at the Sorbonne. During his illness he talked of nothing but his examination, which he was prevented from going through, and was miserable at the thought that on the appointed day he should not be found at what he called his "post of honour." His illness was so rapid that some of his family could not arrive in time to be with him in his last moments. However, the comte de Paris, who was particularly fond of him, arrived some hours before his death. The last consolations of religion were administered to him by the Abbé Guelle, who had rendered this last sad office to so many of the Orléans family. The young prince faced death with the greatest courage. He remained conscious up to nearly the last moment, and was much less affected than those who were round his bed, especially his heartbroken father.

The shock of the sudden and unexpected death of the duc de Guise fell heavily on the comte de Paris, who had been travelling in France since the beginning of the spring.

The prince was making the utmost use of his leisure. He went to Bourges in the month of April, to inspect the military establishments, and during the two following months he was studying the labour question in France, having until then been only able to enter thoroughly into it in England.

Earlier in April, 1872, he had been over the mills of Belleville and la Villette in Paris, to enquire into the condition of the workpeople—into their salaries, their general welfare, etc.—and had made copious notes. He

had almost always been recognised before the end of the visit, and had been everywhere treated with respect. Even in those parts of Paris where a very bad feeling was supposed to exist, his ears had never been offended by a single word or exclamation.

The comte de Paris also visited the departments of Gard, Nîmes, Bessèges, Alais, and especially the coal mines of the Grand Combe, in which he was particularly interested. The mining company of the Grand Combe, under the judicious influence of the Rothschilds, furnished a striking example of the good which can be done among workmen who know how to value the privileges offered to them, such as *caisses de retraite* for the old, pensions for widows, and help for the little ones. The acting director and chief engineer explained it all to the prince, and illustrated the good feeling which reigned among the population by telling him that at the elections the Conservative candidate, whatever his opinions, almost always secured 2,400 votes out of the 3,000.

M. le comte de Paris next visited the factories of Fourchambalt, near Nevers, and from there he went to stay with M. le comte de Montalivet, at his beautiful castle of Lagrange, not far from Sancerre. After a few days' rest he examined the mines of Auzin, in which he took a lively interest, and of which M. Casimir Périer and General de Chabaud-Latour did the honours.

Soon afterwards he started with M. le duc de Broglie for St. Golvin, to see the important manufactory of mirrors, which is the admiration and envy of Europe. Tourraine was also visited.

During these excursions the prince always preserved his incognito, wishing to see and understand everything—in fact thoroughly to master the details ; but he avoided any brilliant receptions. Towards the end of June, 1872, the author had the honour of showing the castles of Blois, Chaumont, Chenonceaux, and Chinon to the comte de Paris, the comtesse de Paris, and the duc de Montpensier, and they were everywhere greeted with the greatest respect, so soon as their incognito had been discovered.

Being in need of rest after these excursions, M. le comte de Paris went with the princess and their children for sea air to Dinard in Brittany, whence he was called away by the sudden death of the unfortunate duc de Guise. Shortly afterwards he went to Eu. It was his first visit since his return from exile. After riding with M. Estancelin through the environs of the town of Eu, the comte de Paris went to the church, which he examined in detail, and was much struck with the beauty of the old abbey buildings.

He went down in company with the priest to see the tombs of the comtes d'Eu, and afterwards repaired to the Packam factories. All the hands were marshalled in the courtyard awaiting the arrival of the prince, and a bouquet was presented to him in their name by the daughter of the manager, M. Marc. One of the foremen, M. Desjardins, then read the following address, presented to the prince by the workmen of the town of Eu:—

“ MONSEIGNEUR,—

“ Your Highness when you were a child used

to take great pleasure in visiting these vast factories founded by King Louis-Philippe, and which remain as lasting monuments of the great interest which your august grandfather took in the working classes, in agriculture, and in every form of industry. For more than forty years these factories have been engaged in manufacturing the produce of that part of the country in which they are situated, and by affording work have supplied us with the means for bringing up our children. Your Highness, true to the wise and productive traditions of the originator of these works, testifies by your presence here to-day to the same benevolent solicitude in the real interests of our country. We beg to thank you, Monseigneur, with all the greater sincerity and gratitude because we know from your writings how earnestly you have studied the labour question, and the means for improving the condition of the working man. It is, therefore, from the bottom of our hearts that we utter the cry so long suppressed 'Long live the comte de Paris!'"

In his reply, the prince assured them that one of the great consolations of his exile had been the assurance transmitted to him from time to time of the affectionate interest displayed towards him by the inhabitants of Eu, among whom he was happy to find himself once more. His words were enthusiastically cheered.

The comte de Paris went next to visit the establishment of M. Fluttre, the perfection of whose work had just won for him the medal of the "Association Normande." There, as in the Packam factories, the prince received the most flattering welcome from the work-

men and the crowd that thronged the way. He next inspected, in the company of M. Estancelin, the glass works of the Grande-Vallée in the forest of Eu.

After his excursion to Normandy, the comte de Paris went to join the duc d'Aumale at Aix-les-Bains, being anxious to cheer the loneliness of his uncle, who had been overwhelmed with grief since the loss of the duc de Guise.

Before returning to Paris, the comte de Paris and his wife paid a visit to M. Casimer Périer in Isère, and stayed a few days at the castle of la Graer near Libourne with the duc Decazes, and then went to Bordeaux, where they were received with the liveliest pleasure.

Thus passed the first year of the prince's return to France.

In March, 1873, he published a work in one volume, entitled "The Condition of working men in England," which he had addressed to the Commission appointed by the Assembly to enquire into the condition of the working classes.

In reading this book, which had a brilliant success, one feels that while the prince was studying the condition of the English workman, he had the French artisan constantly in his mind. During the years of exile, when each and all spoke to him of the country from which he had been banished so young, the sole object of his studies was to qualify himself for serving his country in whatever position Providence should place him.

This book is divided into three parts : wages, trades unions, protection ; that is to say, the material, moral

and social life of the workman. The work was systematically criticized by certain journals, which refused to see in it a true and accurate statement of the life of the English working man, and chose to forget that the prince does not—and very rightly—suggest for France all that he admires in England. It is certain that all unbiassed minds must derive profit and enjoyment from the perusal of this book.

Let us quote the eloquent words with which, at the end of his book, the comte de Paris describes England, and let us not despair of seeing France one day “strong in her institutions, respecting the past, critical towards the present, advancing boldly to face the problems of the future. In important and delicate questions, she will set the example of a true spirit of reform ; one, that is to say, which is neither revolutionary nor conventional, which seeks to increase the liberty and the responsibility of the subject ; which eliminates as much as possible from its code all preventative measures, at the same time teaching the humblest citizen that a religious respect for law among the entire community is the only safeguard for the liberty of the individual.”

In the beginning of May, 1873, the comte de Paris, who was anxious to see Africa, where his father and uncles had formerly distinguished themselves, determined to accompany his brother, the duc de Chartres, who was going to rejoin his regiment at Constantine. He made a rapid tour through the chief towns of our colony, visiting Bône, Constantine, Blidah, Oran, and Algiers, and was everywhere received with the greatest sympathy, especially by the military authorities.

The important events which were to follow the elec-

tions of April the 27th and May the 11th, 1873, hastened the prince's return to France. The National Assembly, whose vacation terminated on the 19th of May, began its sittings that same day at Versailles. On the 20th M. le comte de Paris arrived at Chantilly, and, together with the rest of France, accepted with satisfaction the new Government of May 24th.

A few days after that, the glorious though defeated hero of Reichshoffen, Marshal MacMahon, had formed a ministry resolved on an energetic conservative policy. M. le comte de Paris went to see the President of the Republic at Versailles. The Marshal was not at home, but the next day, Sunday, June the 1st, he went to Paris to return the prince's visit. He was received immediately, and talked with the prince about the state of Africa—where he had first carried arms, and about the speech which the prince de Joinville had just made at Langres.

A few days after the review of July the 12th, 1873, which had been arranged in honour of the Shah of Persia, the National Assembly separated and adjourned till November the 5th.

It was then, at the end of July, that M. le comte de Paris invited his uncles and his brother to his house, and imparted to them his intention of going to Vienna to see M. le comte de Chambord. They all approved of it. For the last two years, the comte de Paris had been awaiting with impatience the moment when he would be able to pay this visit.

It has been truly said that the most distinctive feature of his character is his disinterested patriotism, and of this the political act of August 5th is a proof. The

interview at Frohsdorf may have excited the greatest surprise in France and Europe, but it did not astonish those who had the honour of knowing the prince. He took this step of his own free will, as if it was the most natural and simple thing possible, with the view of re-constituting in France the unity of the great royalist cause. Without this unity there was no hope of binding together all the scattered forces of the conservative party. The prince seeing that in this necessity lay his duty did not hesitate.

He chose the moment for carrying out his intention with all the tact and discrimination of a wise and profound politician. Those who persecuted him—for there is no other word to use for it—because he did not hurry on his journey to Frohsdorf, did not understand that to have accomplished it before May the 24th would have been to risk forfeiting for ever the results which have been obtained.

M. Thiers, who was then in power, master of every party and every situation, would not have failed, with his wonderful but mischievous cleverness, to have sacrificed monarchical union to the idea of the Republic, would have denounced it as a plot, and, if necessary, would have punished it as such. The letter from M. Thiers to the Mayor of Nancy (September 29th) shows what a true view the comte de Paris had taken.

In the last two years the Orléans princes had been everywhere accused of being the only obstacles to the re-establishment of monarchy. Nothing could have been more unjust, but this idea gained such ground in the mind of the public that it had come to be accepted by the most moderate of men.

There is a famous saying that in time of revolution it is more difficult to know one's duty than to do it. The comte de Paris had understood the importance to France of the step he was about to take, and he did not hesitate.

The 24th of May had fortunately given the power into the hands of Marshal MacMahon ; but France was still suffering under a foreign occupation, the Assembly had met, and a visit from the comte de Paris to the head of the House of Bourbon might have caused serious embarrassment to the new ministry. It might have been said that the princes were trying to force a monarchy on the nation at the point of the Prussian bayonets. There was nothing to do but to wait. When the Assembly was no longer sitting, the moment would be more propitious. So the prince went to instal the princess and her children at Villers-sur-Mer, near Trouville, and then started for Switzerland with his uncle the prince de Joinville. He wanted to avoid the stir caused by his visit, and was particularly anxious that the comte de Chambord should know nothing of it until after his arrival at Vienna. He was recognised in Switzerland by a friend of prince Louis Bonaparte, who went at once to tell the son of Napoleon III. that he had just met the comte de Paris. M. Thiers caused an announcement of the prince's departure to be inserted in the *National*. The news had been published so often that no one took the slightest notice of it, and it was only believed when telegrams from Vienna appeared in all the papers, announcing the arrival of the prince in that town, on the evening of Saturday, August the 2nd.

The next morning (August 3rd) the comte de Paris telegraphed to the comte de Chambord, asking him to name a place and hour when he would receive him. The comte de Chambord was just leaving church after mass when the telegram was handed to him in the presence of Mme. la comtesse de Chambord, M. le comte de Vanssay, and M. le comte de Blacas. We are told that the august head of the House of Bourbon read the telegram with great emotion, and that his face expressed both joy and surprise. He at once telegraphed to the comte de Paris that in the course of the next day he should receive the reply which he desired.

On the 4th the comte de Vanssay went to Vienna with a note from the comte de Chambord to the comte de Paris, to which the latter immediately sent back the following answer :—

“ Vienna, Aug. 4, 1873.

“ M. le comte de Paris agrees with M. le comte de Chambord that the intended visit must not be allowed to give rise to any erroneous impressions.

“ He is ready, on meeting the comte de Chambord, to declare his intention not only of saluting the head of the House of Bourbon, but also to recognise the principle of which the comte de Chambord is the representative.

“ He is anxious that France should find her safety in returning to the principle of monarchy, and he desires to assure the comte de Chambord that he will find no rival amongst the members of his family.

“ The comte de Paris only begged M. de Vanssay

to inform the comte de Chambord of the intention of his uncles and himself to serve in the French army."

To this loyal declaration the comte de Chambord answered by the following significant sentence:—"I shall consider my cousins' desire to remain in the army as perfectly natural so long as France is a Republic; but I should fail to understand it if she were under a monarchy other than the legitimist monarchy."

On Tuesday, August 5th, at nine o'clock in the morning, M. le comte de Paris arrived at Frohsdorf, which is about one hour from Vienna by train. He was conducted into the room where M. le comte de Chambord awaited him, and after shaking hands with his cousin, he expressed himself as follows:—"While bringing to you, cousin, as head of our house, the greetings of my family and myself, I desire also to salute the principle of monarchy, of which you are the sole representative in France. Be assured that you will find no competitor to the throne either in me or in any member of my family in the day when France shall realise that her only security is to be found in the restoration of monarchy." At these words the comte de Chambord, much affected, arose and embraced his cousin, and their conversation was carried on in terms of the greatest cordiality. The comte de Chambord talked chiefly of France, of the feeling of the nation, and, without especially mentioning the tricolor flag, he gave his cousin to understand that the National Assembly, through the medium of their representatives, would soon, he hoped, have to consult with him as to the means of re-establishing

the monarchy. At the close of their conversation, the comte de Chambord said: "I consider it perfectly natural that you should adhere to the political opinions in which you have been brought up. The heir to the throne has his opinion, as well as the king."

The comte de Paris was then presented to Mme. la comtesse de Chambord, who welcomed him most cordially, and he stayed at Frohsdorf for some hours after luncheon. He returned to Vienna at four o'clock, for he was engaged in the evening to dine with the Emperor of Austria, and to go with him to a gala performance at the opera in honour of the Shah of Persia.

Such was the first interview between the grandson of King Louis-Philippe and the grandson of King Charles X. The Republican Press uttered cries of rage, and heaped insults on the Orléans princes and on the comte de Chambord. It has been seen how frank, loyal, and spontaneous had been this reconciliation between the two branches of the House of Bourbon, and how noble was the language of the comte de Chambord, who understood and appreciated the abnegation and disinterestedness of the comte de Paris. We will not stop longer to notice the comments of the princes' enemies, who were spiteful and furious at the union of the two branches of the House of Bourbon—a union which could not fail to retard indefinitely the fulfilment of their hopes.

But to tell the truth, the Republican party was at that time possessed by an extraordinary idea. They desperately endeavoured to prove by the light of history, with their text books in their hands, that the

union of the monarchical party, and the perfect understanding which reigned between Legitimists and Orléanists, constituted an attempt on the rights, an infraction of the duties of both ; and, in short, that what had passed on August 5, 1873, was an insult to the memory of the comte de Chambord and of King Louis-Philippe.

These opportunists dared to say : “ M. le comte de Paris, in accepting the political inheritance of M. le comte de Chambord, has betrayed the memories and traditions of his family. The legitimists, in recognising M. le comte de Paris, as they have done, to be the undeniable head of the House of France, have done violence to the teaching of their party, and have failed in respect to M. le comte de Chambord.” Whole volumes might be filled with articles in which this double theme is worked out *ad nauseam*.

But a witness was discovered to destroy these errors—a witness whose authority and competency we do not think the Republic will deny, for he was in fact the most important statesman of the July monarchy—we mean that great orator, historian and writer, M. Guizot. His daughter, Mme. de Witt, has collected some of the letters which M. Guizot wrote to his family and friends into one volume, a small but very choice work. There we find, as in a piece of broken mirror, the best qualities of his powerful mind, his wide, profound views of men and things in his day, reflected in a style perfectly adapted to generalisation, and conveying the truth in a few sentences, in short fragments, chiefly improvised.

Now it appears from M. Guizot's letters that after

the revolution of 1848, in the interval between the assumption by prince Louis Napoléon of the presidency of the republic, and the coup d'Etat of 1851, the partisans of the July monarchy and the adherents of traditional monarchy were unanimous as to the urgent necessity for a sincere reconciliation and a definite fusion of all the monarchical forces. Not only did M. Guizot enter into these ideas without any sort of reserve, but his correspondence reveals the fact that King Louis-Philippe favoured them, and gave them the full weight of his authority. In July, 1850, the King said to M. Guizot:—

“My grandson cannot reign with the same title and under the same conditions as I, who have failed. He can only become the legitimate king either by the death or the abdication of M. le duc de Bordeaux, or in succession to him. As for me, I have no plan either to form or carry out; I have only to wait. The want of union in the House of Bourbon is a great misfortune. I will not add to it the scandal of disunion in the House of Orléans. All my family must be of my mind. All my sons are, but that is not enough. I want time; I want time!”*

However, neither Louis-Philippe nor M. Guizot considered it sufficient, in the then state of the country, to form platonic wishes in favour of unity. With the advice and encouragement of the King, M. Guizot took measures to inform the comte de Chambord of the ideas which were current at Claremont, and to prepare the ground for a solution which from that moment became dear to the hearts of the most able men. M.

* M. Guizot à M. de Basante, July 9, 1850.

Guizot therefore drew up, towards the end of 1850, a memorandum, setting forth the conditions under which the reconciliation between the monarchical parties might be accomplished.

This memorandum is one of the wisest and noblest of the productions of M. Guizot's pen. After defining what ought properly to belong to Legitimists and Orléanists in exercising the functions of a royal government, the author thus sums up his conclusions :—

“ In 1830 a large—a very large part of the nation thought itself in danger, and imagined that its rights, its interests, and its honour, were threatened. It, therefore, actively or passively, revolted against monarchy, persuading itself that revolt was the only means of defence. When the revolution was an accomplished fact, the country and the new Government found itself obliged to check it, to regulate it, and to bring out of it a constitutional monarchy under a prince of the House of Bourbon. This monarchy lasted eighteen years. For eighteen years it enforced law and order in France, maintained peace in Europe, and for eighteen years France was free and prosperous. For the last sixty years no other government had lasted longer, or ruled with greater sincerity and liberality. In 1848 this Government was suddenly overthrown. Without looking forward ; without trying to find the secondary causes of its fall, we are justified in saying that it did not possess all the conditions necessary for its continuance.

“ There are now two great facts which occupy all parties, and which, in the eyes of M. le comte de Cham-

bord, and of the country, ought to influence all politics. One may almost say that God has spoken. France ought to recognise that the existence of the monarchy is impossible without respect for the rights of that monarchy, and the union of all parties composing it. M. le comte de Chambord must recognise that the monarchy of 1830 was a national, legal measure, and that it saved France from anarchy. By this simultaneous action neither M. le comte de Chambord nor France abandon their rights, nor forfeit their dignity; they approach each other without loss of prestige. Together they render homage to truth and necessity.”*

This note of M. Guizot had been brought under the notice of the comte de Chambord by the duc de Noailles. The prince perused it with the attention it deserved, and replied to it, as is well known, by one of the most magnificent letters of his correspondence. After expressing his admiration for the superior intellect, the great ability, and the long experience of M. Guizot, the prince adds:—“ I have read them (the pages) with all the more interest and satisfaction as, on most points, and, with few exceptions, I share the sentiments and views which they contain.”

Thus it was the programme laid down by the powerful hand of M. Guizot in 1850, which was carried out in 1873.

We will leave the Republican party to treat with disdain this eminently patriotic and national movement which the Conservatives accomplished, but what

* M. Guizot's letters. “ Memorandum on the union, Nov. 1850.” Hackett.

we do dispute with our adversaries is that this movement was opposed to the respective traditions of both parties in the monarchy. In reality, their union, henceforth indissoluble, is equally the work of King Louis-Philippe, and the comte de Chambord.

On the 5th of August, 1873, the comte de Chambord also received a visit from the prince de Joinville, who expressed identically the same sentiments as his nephew. The next day the comte de Chambord went to Vienna to return the visit of the comte de Paris. In this second interview the comte de Chambord talked a great deal to the prince about his children, and begged for their photographs. To the head of the House of Bourbon this union of the two branches of his family, did not only mean oblivion on both sides of past politics, but also the participation in the joys of family life from which he had been severed for so many years. A fatal disunion had prevented his knowing, even by sight, those of the same Bourbon blood as himself.

One of the papers expressed itself as follows on the subject of the interview at Frohsdorf:—

“ Thanks to the bold and generous initiative taken by M. le comte de Paris, the head of the House of Bourbon finds himself surrounded by men who showed an emotion that could only arise from real depth of feeling. With them are ladies, children of all ages, brilliant officers like the duc de Chartres, lovely girls like princess Blanche de Nemours, all of whom display real respect and affection for him. Hands are outstretched, eyes are bright with tears, and the man

who seemed fated to sit beside a desolate hearth, embraces an entire family of brothers, sisters, and even babies like the little duc d'Orléans, who climbs on his knee and loves him even before he knows him. One thought fills every heart—regret for the time wasted in solitude, and an earnest desire to make up for it.

“As for the prince, who is the centre of all this, he finds his youth renewed in their youth, his heart knows to whom to turn; he at last is restored to his family; and, in spite of the blind hatred and base jealousies which rage without, this union, which has been so well cemented, can never be interrupted. Let it be well understood that the reunion of the two branches of the House of Bourbon was all the more secure, because it not only brought the two families together, but because it saved France, which, without monarchy, must have perished.”

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In the middle of August, the comte de Paris returned to Paris. He did not stay there, but went to join his family at Villers-sur-mer. The visit of August 5 had made an immense stir throughout France, and everywhere the action of the comte de Paris was highly approved of. On his return to Villers, August 18, he wrote to a friend :—

“I thank you for having understood and appreciated my recent step towards the comte de Chambord. I was inspired by the idea of union. I wanted to remove anything which might prove an obstacle to this union of Conservatives, which is founded on a

community of interests, and on respect for the opinions of others, wherever such opinions clash. This union is our only safeguard against our social enemies."

The Conservative Press was unanimous in applauding the reconciliation of the royal family, and history registered with an admiration not unmixed with astonishment this, the greatest act in the political life of the comte de Paris—an act which cut through the Gordian knot of a misunderstanding of forty years, and the whole country, touched by the patriotic self-sacrifice of the comte de Paris, shouted joyfully, "France is saved, monarchy is established."

The foreign Press, even the most hostile, could not help exclaiming with the *Times*—"Can one imagine anything more strange? In consequence of events in which he has taken no part, the comte de Chambord is able, for the first time for forty-three years, to contemplate in perspective his speedy and legal return to the throne of France. Here, for the first time since the death of Louis XIV., we see a French prince, succeeding by right of birth, to the dignity of his ancestors, without having solicited the succession, and without having had recourse to intrigue or violence in order to obtain it. Here, again, we have the strange sight of a prince renouncing all claim to power, and becoming the most loyal of subjects, instead of the most formidable of competitors. Besides which, it has all happened at the most unexpected moment, when even ardent partisans of this fusion had given up all hope of success. Indeed, the only apparent obstacle to the restoration of monarchy in

France is the prince himself, who, for the last forty years has not ceased repeating that monarchy is the only salvation for the country. All this is incredible, and yet it is true."

All classes of society had the greatest confidence in the comte de Chambord's intentions. There were some who wanted to hurry on the convocation of the Assembly; the following answer is said to have been given on the subject by a high personage:—

"We do not want to patch up a monarchy; we want to establish it on a solid basis. A few months, more or less, will not make much difference either to the country or to the comte de Chambord; both will have time to reflect: France on what she owes to herself, and the prince on what he owes to her."

Those who until then had been the most sceptical, began to believe in the restoration of the monarchy. The following words of one of the most able of the councillors of state are quoted on the subject:—

"M. le comte de Chambord has never had the crown so nearly under his hand; if he lets slip the present opportunity, he will certainly deprive himself of every chance in the future. Being a conscientious man, this new situation may perhaps have some effect in enlightening him as to his duties towards France, and towards the royal house of which he has again become the head. There are some prodigals who remain prodigals to the end; there are some who settle down when they marry. . . ."

Meanwhile, the republicans, having recovered from

their first alarm, were not wasting time. During the months of September and October they scoured the country, repeating all the absurdities of the old *régime*, the tithe, etc., etc.

In some villages the peasants asked whether it were true that the parish priests were to replace the mayors ; in others they hastened to sell their produce, so as to avoid the tithe which was to be imposed by Henry V. With a cruel cunning the republicans turned their credulity to account, and they even declared that the pilgrimages were nothing but political demonstrations by which the clergy were agitating the country.

While the republicans were spreading their calumnies against the royalists, Government was studiously preserving a strict neutrality. The attitude of the ministers was irreproachable, which was all the more meritorious as some of them were open royalists.

It was now the 20th of September. A great many French had gone to Frohsdorf, and had been cordially received by the comte de Chambord. One of them, an old Orléanist deputy, M. le vicomte D—— (uncle of one of the deputies of the Left Centre), told us that he could not help saying to the head of the House of Bourbon, how thankful he was that Providence had endowed the heir to the throne, M. le comte de Paris, with the many qualities which distinguished him. . .

“ . . . Yes, indeed,” replied the comte de Chambord, “ I was delighted to be able to appreciate M. le comte de Paris as he deserves ; he has an honest, upright character, and his mind and intellect appeared to me, as to you, quite remarkable.”

On taking leave, the prince grasped the hand of vicomte D——, saying “Au revoir in France.”

On the eve of this visit (September 19), the comte de Chambord had written the following letter to M. le vicomte de Rodez-Bénavent, member for l’Hérault :—

“*Frohsdorf, September 19th, 1873.*

“The feeling inspired, my dear vicomte, by the details which you send me of the revolutionary propaganda in your province is indeed a sad one ; they could hardly descend lower to find weapons against us, and nothing could be less worthy of the dignity of France. Imagine being reduced in 1873 to evoke the phantom of the tithe, of feudal rights, of religious intolerance, of persecution of our separatist brethren, and—what more shall I add?—of war madly undertaken under impossible conditions, of priestly government, of the predominance of the privileged classes. You will see the impossibility of replying seriously to questions so ludicrous. To what lies does not treachery resort when it wants to stir up public credulity. I know that it is not always easy to remain calm in face of such unworthy tricks, but you must rely on the good sense of our intelligent population to do justice to such follies, and you must do your utmost to appeal to all honest men on the ground of social regeneration. You are aware that I have no party, and that I do not desire to reign by the help of a party. I stand in need of the co-operation of all, and all are in need of me. As to the reconciliation so loyally accomplished in the royal family, tell those who say that this grand act is contrary to nature, that all that took place on August 5th was done with the

sole object of restoring to France her rank, and in the interest of her prosperity, glory and aggrandisement.

“HENRI.”

This letter, while clearly refuting the lies of the revolutionary propaganda, did not give the expected satisfaction as to the constitution and the flag, for the prince would not broach any question, and thus left some hope to the adherents of the union.

The following curious anecdote was told us at the time by one of the most intimate friends of the comte de Chambord, one who had been attached to his person for twenty years, and who was councillor of state under the presidency of Marshal MacMahon :—

“Twenty years ago, the comte de Chambord was at Munich, and was present at a grand ball given by the King of Bavaria. It was a brilliant sight ; almost all the men, whether nobles or diplomatists, wore uniform. The King of Bavaria, who was talking to the comte de Chambord, asked him why he never wore uniform.

“ ‘ I will tell you, sire,’ answered the prince ; ‘ a uniform would necessitate my wearing a cockade, and that might prejudge a question which can only be settled when I am in France.’ ”

I abstain from all comment, and only wish to point out the wisdom of this reply of a prince who foresaw the possibility of accepting the tricolor flag.

Several deputies went to Frohsdorf. M. de Sugney, member for la Loire, and M. Merveilleux-Duvignaux, member for la Vienne, while stating distinctly that they

had not been commissioned to put before the prince any ultimatum, did not hesitate to explain to him the situation as it had resulted from the meetings held at Versailles.

After an important meeting of the Right (September 25th), it was decided that M. Combier should go to Frohsdorf, which he did, and reported that the comte de Chambord still hesitated on the subject of the tricolor flag. M. Combier met at Frohsdorf the duc de Chartres, who, detained hitherto by his duties as major in the 9th Chasseurs, had taken advantage of his leave to pay a visit to the head of the House of Bourbon, and was at Frohsdorf on that prince's birthday, September 29th.

The comte de Paris telegraphed his congratulations to the comte de Chambord on this occasion, and received a most cordial reply by telegram.

On the 12th of October, M. Chesnelong, one of the deputies, was sent in the name of the Right to Salzburg, and had a long interview with the prince. His mission seemed to have been successful, and on his return all the conservative papers expressed the liveliest joy. However, as the decisive hour approached, great anxiety prevailed amongst the royalists, an anxiety which was increased by the silence of the comte de Chambord.

The English and German papers announced that the King's horses and carriages were kept ready to start at a moment's notice, that the outriders were engaged by the comte de Damas, who had gone himself to the stables at the Louvre, and who, it was even said, had obtained from General Fleury certain information about

some of the Emperor's former servants who desired to enter the household of the King ; the latest detail was that the comtesse de Chambord's dressmaker had received orders to delay sending several dresses to the princess, as she might at any moment arrive in Paris.

The enemies of monarchy were not idle. One radical paper suggested to prince Napoleon a union between himself and the radicals against the royalists. The prince accepted the alliance in a letter which he published and sent to every mayor in France.

At the time that party feeling was increasing every day, the "uncrowned Cæsar" met at dinner M. Emile de Girardin, who, with M. Robert Mitchell, defended the cause of constitutional monarchy in the *Presse*.

"To what follies," said the prince, "will not your parliamentary doctrines lead you ! Here you are flying to monarchy to ensure their triumph. I suppose you want to revive the old rights, sacerdotalism, etc., etc."

"Oh ! monseigneur, how can you mention such nonsense ? You should leave that to fools !"

"I tell you," exclaimed the prince, "that you will be taking baths of holy water."

"Well !" said M. de la Guéronnière, "I should certainly prefer a bath of holy water to a bath of petroleum."

"You are wrong."

Is not this authentic incident an eloquent comment on the letter of prince Napoleon ? *

It was now October 27th. All the polemics which had been agitating Paris for the last few days made it

* "La vérité sur l'essai de restauration monarchique," attributed to M. Ernest Daudet, page 134. Dentu, publisher.

incumbent on the comte de Chambord to show his hand. Public opinion was wildly excited. First there was a rumour of the departure of the duc de Nemours, who had been summoned to Salzburg by the prince; then M. de Falloux and M. de Lucien Brun were said to have followed him to obtain a confirmation of the language held by M. Chesnelong.

The *Figaro* wrote to the ex-Empress Eugénie, imploring her to use her influence with her party to make them relinquish their alliance with the radicals, and to vote for the re-establishment of monarchy.

In every salon the names were discussed of those deputies who could be relied on, and of those who were doubtful.

We ourselves made a most scrupulously accurate calculation, and we believe that we are well within the mark in affirming that the monarchy would have been carried by a majority of between thirty and forty votes.

On the 28th of October, the *Journal officiel* published an order from General MacMahon to the army, urging the maintenance of discipline, which had just been violated by General Carrey de Bellamare. This general, who was in command at Périgueux, had written to the minister of war to the effect that he could not recognise the sovereignty of the National Assembly. The minister of war immediately put him "en non-activité par retraite d'emploi," and this decisive action produced a most salutary impression both in the army and throughout France.

At the same time, the *Gazette des Tribunaux* announced that a plot against public safety had just been discovered at Autun. Madame la marquise de Mac-

Mahon, the widowed niece of the marshal, lived, surrounded by her children, at the castle of Sulley, in a village on which she had lavished benefits. Certain members of a secret society had formed the plan of carrying her away as hostage. Several of the conspirators took to flight, some were arrested, confessed their guilt, and were severely punished. It was asserted that this plan for carrying off hostages existed in several departments.

The morning of Friday, October 30th, dawned under the happiest auspices. Confidence had been restored on the Bourse, and no doubt was felt in the intention of the comte de Chambord to adhere to the judicious proposals of the Right. Suddenly at six o'clock in the evening, the *Union* published the following letter from M. le comte de Chambord to M. Chesnelong :—

“ Salzburg, October 27th, 1873.

“ SIR,—

“ I have so pleasant a recollection of your visit to Salzburg, I have conceived so profound an admiration for your noble character that I do not hesitate to address myself to you with the same loyalty that you showed in your visit to me. You spoke to me at great length of the future of our beloved country, and I know that on your return you expressed yourself to your colleagues in terms deserving my eternal gratitude. I desire to thank you for having so thoroughly understood the agony of mind which I was suffering, and for having made no secret of the unalterable firmness of my resolution. I was in no wise affected when public opinion, carried away by the force of a deplorable cur-

rent, declared that I had at last consented to become legitimate King of the Revolution. I had a guarantee in the testimony of a man of good faith, and I was determined to keep silence so long as I was not forced to appeal to your loyalty.

“ But since, in spite of your efforts, misunderstandings have accumulated to obscure the clear horizon of my policy, I owe the truth to a country which may fail to understand me, but which has always believed in my sincerity, because it knows that I never have deceived it, and never will deceive it. I am now asked to sacrifice my honour. What can my answer be, but that I retract nothing, I modify none of my former declarations? The pretensions of yesterday give me an idea of the exigencies of to-morrow, and I cannot consent to inaugurate a reign which should be strong and vigorous by an act of weakness. It is the fashion, as you are aware, to contrast the firmness of Henry V. with the cleverness of Henry IV. ‘My *violent* love for my subjects makes everything possible and honourable’ was his frequent remark.

“ I declare that in this respect I do not yield one whit to him, but I should much like to know what would have befallen the man who would have had the foolhardiness to venture on persuading him to disown the standard of Arques and Ivry.

“ Sir, you belong to the province in which he was born, and I am sure that you will agree with me that he would promptly have disarmed the speaker, saying in his forcible dialect ‘My friend! take my white flag, it will always lead you along the road to honour and victory.’

“ I am accused of not having a sufficiently high estimate of the valour of our soldiers, and that at the very moment that I only aspire to entrust them with all that is dearest to me. Surely it must have been forgotten that honour is the heritage alike of the House of Bourbon and of the French army, and that on that ground there can be no fear of misunderstandings. No, I do not undervalue one of the glories of my country, and God alone knows how in the depths of my exile I have shed tears of gratitude each time that in good or evil fortune the sons of France have shown themselves worthy of her.

“ But we have a great work to accomplish ; I am ready and eager to undertake it to-morrow, this evening, this moment ; hence my determination to remain simply such as I am ; if I am lowered to-day, I am powerless to-morrow.

“ It is a question of nothing less than the reconstitution on a natural basis of society, the enforcing energetically the power of the law, renewing prosperity at home, and contracting lasting alliances abroad, and above all, not fearing to employ force in the cause of order and justice.

“ They talk of conditions ; did he impose any on me—that young prince, whose loyal embrace afforded me such delight, and who, listening only to the voice of patriotism, came spontaneously to offer me in the name of his family assurances of peace, devotion and reconciliation ?

“ They demand guarantees ; did they demand any from this modern Bayard on that memorable night of May 24th, when they forced on his modesty the

glorious mission of quieting his country by the straightforward words of an honest man and a soldier—words which never fail to reassure the good and to intimidate the evil?

“It is true that I have not, like him, carried the sword of France on twenty battle-fields, but for forty-three years I have preserved intact the sacred trust of our liberty and our traditions, and surely I ought to be able to inspire the same confidence and to count on the same devotion.

“My person is nothing, my principle is everything. France will see the end of her trials so soon as she shall have understood this principle. I am the necessary pilot, and am alone capable of bringing the ship safely into harbour, having a mission and an authority to do so.

“You can do much to dissipate misunderstandings, and to encourage waverers at the decisive moment. Your consoling words on leaving Salzburg are ever present to my mind. France cannot perish, for Christ still loves His French, and when God has determined to save a nation, He ordains that the sceptre of justice shall be placed in the hands of one strong enough to wield it.

“HENRI.”

“Nothing could be more beautiful or more hopeless than this letter, . . . but what we now fail to realize is the force of the circumstances preceding this terrible sentence which burst over our heads.”*

Let us take up the thread of our narrative.

* “Henri de France,” by M. H. de Pène, page 398.

Consternation was general throughout Paris, and the funds went down two francs on the little Bourse on the Boulevards. The cafés were filled to overflowing, and the papers were eagerly devoured. Some said that it was "a forged letter—a trick of M. Thiers; we will not let ourselves be taken in by it." From the Madeleine to the faubourg Poissonnière people were fighting for the papers at every stall. Alas! the letter was only too true.

The comte de Chambord had sent it to M. Chesnelong at mid-day by the hands of M. de Deux-Brézé, who was also ordered to send a copy to the *Union*.

M. Chesnelong entreated M. de Deux-Brézé to wait one day. He added that he would telegraph to Frohsdorf to remind the prince of his words and of the replies he had given him; he even offered to start at once for Frohsdorf, but the representative of the comte de Chambord told him that it would all be useless, that he must obey his formal orders, and that neither telegrams nor visits would in any way alter this irrevocable decision.

M. de Chesnelong sent a copy of this letter to the vice-president of the cabinet council, and started at once for Paris.

The ministers were assembled; all were unanimous in recognising that Marshal MacMahon was not affected by the failure of the solution of the monarchy question, and the president of the Republic insisted on his ministers awaiting the Convocation of the Assembly before sending in their resignations. There was then put forward as a possible solution—that a monarchy be proclaimed with either the comte de Paris, or the

duc d'Aumale as regent. As to the post of lieutenant-general, the marshal refused to accept it, for that would be to disown the title of president of the Republic, which he had borne since May the 24th. He declared that he would not separate himself from the Conservatives, but he made it a condition that none of the existing arrangements should be changed. The prorogation of the powers of the marshal was thus admitted in principle, and the effect of this wise resolution was to rally all right-minded people round him. The members of the Right examined the situation, and endeavoured to form some combinations which should leave intact the monarchical majority, and its programme.

A Regency, with the comte de Paris at the head, was proposed. It was insisted that the first thing to be done was to save the principle of monarchy, and it soon became evident that the adhesion of the greater part of the Right could be counted on. It was rightly calculated that, although forty or fifty votes of the extreme Right would be lost, they would be more than counterbalanced by those of the Left Centre, who, far from having any repugnance to the comte de Paris, had learnt during the last two years to appreciate his great ability. This resolution to form a regency was adopted, but there was some division as to the name of the Regent. Some of the legitimists desired that the heir to the throne should retain his position, and suggested the duc de Nemours, the prince de Joinville, and the duc d'Aumale. But already some of the newspapers of the extreme Right were accusing the Orléans princes of intrigues, while

the Republican papers declared that the comte de Paris knew that the comte de Chambord would not give way on one single point, and that the journey to Vienna had only been undertaken with the view of compromising the prince in the eyes of his country. On the 1st of November a meeting of the Right took place at the house of M. le duc de Larochefoucauld-Bisaccia, with the result that the post of lieutenant-general of the kingdom was offered to M. le comte de Paris, who, however, refused to lend himself to "anything which could even distantly resemble a royalist competition, or which could disturb the union of the monarchist party."

The duc de Nemours, the prince de Joinville, and especially the duc d'Aumale, expressed themselves in the same terms as their nephew, and remained immovable in their determination, not wishing that the head of the House of Bourbon should, for a moment, suspect the loyalty and sincerity of the interview of August 5th.

It is undeniable that the comte de Chambord did not in the least understand the real situation in France. The following account (given to us the day after his return) of a visit paid by M. de Villemessant to the prince at Vienna, on the 31st of October, shows how great were the prince's illusions on the subject :—

"When I found myself in the presence of my King, whose accession I had been expecting for forty-three years, and whom I believed to have just signed his own exile by the letter of Oct. 27th, I was unable to utter a word or articulate a sentence ; I threw myself into

the chair which he offered me, and sobbed aloud. The prince, much astonished, grasped my hand, exclaiming, 'Calm yourself, calm yourself, my dear friend; *nothing is lost!*'

"I then told the King everything, and set the truth forcibly before him. I do not know whether he believed me, but I heard later that my words had produced a painful impression on him, and had had something to do with his determination to go to Versailles."

But it was high time to come to some decision, for the Left—profiting by the disorder caused in the ranks of the royalists by the letter of October 27th—meditated the proclamation of the Republic at the beginning of the Session. The various groups in the Right made common cause, and it was decided that the entire and unanimous majority should demand the prorogation of the powers vested in Marshal MacMahon. General Changarnier was commissioned to bring forward a bill to this effect, and to demand urgency.

Such was the interview of August the 5th, and the consequences and general impression which it produced in France. Two salient points will strike all impartial minds; first, the patriotic abnegation of M. le comte de Paris, and of all the Orléans princes, who thus effaced themselves for the sake of the eldest of their race, and who, strong in the consciousness of having fulfilled a duty which France would one day remember, vouchsafed no reply to wounding and insulting comments on their noble action. The second

point is the confidence felt by all who were attempting the restoration of the monarchy in Marshal MacMahon, who will always stand forth in history as one of the bravest and most faithful servants of his country. Among the many who, raised to the head of the State, or to some high position as minister, will do anything in their power to keep in office, though they thereby cause the downfall of their country, it has been granted to us to see one man ready to retire if the safety of France required it. This was well-known to all, and no one thought at this crisis of suggesting that Marshal MacMahon was trying to prolong his period of office, or that he would hesitate to resign it; France had implicit confidence in the loyal soldier. The seven years' appointment of the marshal was a blessing to the Conservatives in such a crisis, and, as I said at the time to one of my legitimist friends, who was lamenting the failure of the monarchy, if one gets out of a river safe and sound, it would be ungrateful to complain of being wet.

The Session opened on the 5th of November, and the continuance of Marshal MacMahon's powers for seven years was voted by a large majority. The news of this Conservative victory was hailed with joy by France. The majority had been formed under the pressure of the danger which threatened the public, and did not include about ten members of the extreme Right, and several Bonapartists who abstained from voting. It was hoped that the government of Marshal MacMahon, thus established for seven years, would strengthen France within and without, would save social order, and would restore security and

confidence to all honest men who loved order and work.

Before finishing this chapter, I think I ought to mention a fact which might have modified the votes of the Assembly. M. le comte de Chambord, thunder-struck at the result of his letter of October the 27th (he had had no idea when writing it, that it would so entirely alter the plans of the royalists), wished to investigate for himself the situation in France. Would to Heaven that he had had this idea a few weeks sooner! He went, therefore, to Versailles, travelling under a strict *incognito*, and arrived by a night train on the 11th or 12th. He stayed for about a fortnight with one of his secretaries, comte Henri de Vanssay, at 25 rue St. Louis, holding himself in readiness for any event that might happen; all the time that—to his intense astonishment—the Right was arranging and was about to vote for the extension of Marshal MacMahon's powers. He saw no one, with the exception of four deputies, ardent legitimists, whom he reproached with some sharpness for their conduct. They endeavoured in vain to explain the situation to the prince, but he silenced them in a tone which admitted of no reply.

The comte de Chambord, entirely deceived as to the real feeling in the Assembly, imagined that, in spite of his letter of Oct. 27th, the monarchy was an accomplished fact. Disabused of this idea, he had thought it expedient to go to Versailles, in order, if there were yet time, to assemble his friends, to speak to them as a King, and to suggest that they should even now put the question of a monarchy to the Assembly.

For this, the concurrence of Marshal MacMahon and his Government were necessary. Some indirect overtures were made in his name to the marshal, with whom, I have been told, he was anxious to have an interview. In the most respectful terms, MacMahon declined the honour of seeing M. le comte de Chambord, but he sent an assurance to the head of the House of Bourbon, that Government would guarantee his safety as long as he chose to stay in France.

Much depressed, and yet only beginning to understand the truth, the prince then thought of presenting himself before the Assembly, surrounded by the members of the Right, to demand permission to explain the whole matter, so that all misunderstandings should be cleared away.

What would have happened had he taken this step? A great majority in the Chamber would certainly have authorised him to speak, and perhaps if he had said clearly that he meant to keep the white flag for himself and leave the tricolor to the army; if, in the magnificent language so familiar to him, he could have spoken in touching accents of the country which he so dearly loved, the monarchy might possibly have been proclaimed. But the unfortunate prince, who had been so deceived by the information of his adherents, did not yet understand the truth, and the irritability which he showed to those friends whom he received, proved this only too clearly. Those around him saw this, and dissuaded him from this step. The prince only waited till, notwithstanding his efforts, the extension of Marshal MacMahon's powers had been voted, and then left France, carrying with him into his new exile

one sad disappointment and one great grief the more.

To these details we will add those published by a French correspondent in the *Times*. They corroborate entirely all that we have said, viz., that the comte de Chambord had no idea of the obstacles in the way of the restoration of the monarchy, caused by his letter of October the 27th.

The *Times* expresses itself as follows :—

"The comte de Chambord appears not to have realised, before going to Paris, the effect which his letter had produced. After his friends had explained it to him, he declared that it was all a misunderstanding, which must be cleared up, and he resolved to go to the Assembly and mount the tribune, in order to make an explanation. He was given to understand that this plan was impracticable, that he would not obtain a hearing, and that such a step might lead to most disastrous consequences. At last he yielded.

"Later on he was at Versailles on the evening that the debate was brought to a conclusion. He declared that if Marshal MacMahon did not obtain a majority, he should risk a dangerous and decisive step. He should get on his horse, and surrounded by all the princes of his House, he should present himself to the nation. The rejection of the prolongation would sink France in a bottomless abyss, and it was plainly his duty, as representative of a long race of kings, to face the danger.

"He was reminded of the peril of such a step, and of the certainty of his being assassinated. 'What does that matter?' he replied. 'My principle will

survive ; it matters little what becomes of me, now that I have successors.' ”

One more detail, taken from a Conservative paper, about the flying visit of the comte de Chambord to Paris, where he stayed only a few hours. On the day of the funeral of Admiral Tréhouart, a cab might have been seen standing near the Esplanade des Invalides, in which a passenger was sitting, paying the greatest attention to the manœuvres and the marching of the troops. The coachman, who had received orders to take up his position so as to obtain a good view of all that was going on, tried to persuade his fare that he would see much better if he looked on as all the rest of the world did, instead of remaining at the back of the carriage. However, the traveller would not listen to anything, for he was gazing with an emotion which he in vain endeavoured to conceal, at a regiment of cuirassiers which was marching past. When it was all over he gave an order, and the carriage moved off. It was the comte de Chambord, who had at last realised one of his greatest wishes, he had seen a French regiment under arms.

The year 1873 terminated very sadly. Mme. la comtesse de Paris had the grief of losing her brother, prince Ferdinand. The duc de Montpensier had placed his eldest son at the little seminary of la Chapelle St. Mesmin, Orléans. Seized with an attack on the brain, the young prince expired in the arms of his father, who, hurrying off on receiving the news, was only just in time to receive his son's last breath.

CHAPTER IV.

1874-1882.

Interview between the comte de Paris and the Czar Alexander II. in England (1874)—Birth of prince Charles, son of the comte de Paris—His death, aged six months (June 7, 1875)—Interment at Dreux of the remains of Louis-Philippe and other members of the royal family (June 8, 1876)—The comte de Paris accompanies his brother and his uncles to the grand manœuvres at Dreux (1876)—Marriage of princess Mercédès, sister of the comtesse de Paris, to Alphonso XII., King of Spain (Jan. 23, 1878)—Death of the young Queen (June 26, 1878)—Letters of the comte de Paris to the comte Sérurier—Birth, at Eu, of H.R.H. princess Isabelle, third daughter of the comte de Paris (May 7, 1878)—Birth, at Eu, of prince Jacques, second son of the comte de Paris (July 11, 1880) and his death (Jan. 22, 1881)—Birth, at Cannes, of H.R.H. the princess Louise, fourth daughter of the comte de Paris (Feb. 24, 1882)—Visit of the comte de Paris to M. Victor de Laprade at Cannes (April, 1882)—The young duc d'Orléans at the Collège Stanislas—The comte de Paris at the grand manœuvres—He goes to Rome incognito—His interview with Pope Leo XIII. (Sept. 1882)—Generosity and bounty of the comte de Paris and the comtesse de Paris to the inhabitants of Eu and Tréport—Life of the comte de Paris at the Castle of Eu.

IN the month of July, 1874, M. le comte de Paris was in England when the Czar Alexander II. was paying a visit to that country. Alexander II. was one of the best sovereigns that Russia had ever had. His reign was productive of a fruitful and peaceful reform, and the emancipation of 23,000,000 of serfs will in itself give him a claim to eternal glory in the eyes of the historians of humanity at large. This gigantic reform was peacefully accomplished, without a single tear or one drop of blood; and as time passes, the results of this great work are more and more appre-

ciated. Alexander II. had a great mind, an elevated character, an upright conscience, and a firmness which nothing could shake when the interests of his people or the honour of the Empire were concerned. His name, which is still cherished in every Russian cottage, will shed a bright light on the annals of the 19th century.

The Czar loved France, and everything French. After the failure of the Restoration in 1873, he had expressed himself in terms of the warmest praise regarding the political action of the comte de Paris, and desired to make his acquaintance. The prince accordingly saw the Czar, and we have been given to understand that this cordial interview produced the most favourable impression on the Russian sovereign. Perhaps the memory of the French prince had something to do with the personal intervention of the Czar the following year, when the timely information and representations of the duc Decazes, our eminent minister for foreign affairs, prevailed on Alexander II. to oppose the second invasion of France then contemplated by M. de Bismarck. The grand duke Constantine, brother of the Czar, went through Paris on his way to Biarritz soon after this interview, and invited the comte de Paris to a grand dinner, given at the Russian Embassy. It was observed that after dinner the grand duke had a long conversation with the grandson of King Louis-Philippe.*

* At the beginning of 1875 Mme. la comtesse de Paris gave birth to a son (Jan. 25), who received the name of Charles. But the health of the young prince was very delicate, and on the 7th of June, after being taken into the Bois de Boulogne, he was seized with convulsions and died, in spite of every effort of the doctors.

The last wish of King Louis-Philippe was accomplished on the 8th of June, 1876, on which day his remains, together with those of the Queen, Mme. la duchesse d'Orléans, Mme. la duchesse d'Aumale, M. le prince de Condé, and the five young children of the duc d'Aumale, were removed from the Roman Catholic Chapel at Weybridge to France. M. le comte de Perthuis, prefect of Calvados, and the comte de Flers, sub-prefect of Dreux, had requested to be allowed the honour of conducting this solemn ceremony.

In September, 1876, some grand manœuvres took place at Dreux, and the comte de Paris followed them with the lively interest which he took in all things relating to the army.

During the existence of the Government called the Government of May 16th (1877) the attitude of the Orléans princes was most reserved, and they abstained more than ever from all intervention in the political struggles of the day.

The year 1878 appeared to open happily. The sister of the comtesse de Paris, the princess Mercédès de Montpensier, married, on the 23rd of January, at Madrid, her cousin Alphonse XII., King of Spain. Young and lovely, adored by her husband, to whom she was devoted, the happy future of Queen Mercédès seemed assured ; but the impenetrable decrees of Providence ordained that this happy life should be suddenly cut off. The Queen Mercédès died of typhoid fever on the 26th of June. It was indeed a crushing grief. Sorrow and mourning were universal, business was suspended, the shops were shut, and all Spain wept and prayed. The duke and duchess de Mont-

pensier, whose Christian resignation was truly wonderful, were yet to be overtaken by another cruel blow. A year later (May, 1879) the youngest surviving sister of the comtesse de Paris, the infanta Christine, succumbed to an attack on her lungs at her father's palace at Séville.*

It was at this time that M. le comte de Sérurier,

* "A few weeks before the illness and death of the young Queen Mercédès, Mme. la comtesse de Paris gave birth to her third daughter, the princess Isabelle, at Eu, 7th May, 1878. The month of April, 1880, brought to Monsieur the comte de Paris a joy which, alas! was but short lived. Madame la comtesse gave birth to her second son, who received the name of Jacques, after one of his ancestors, Jacques de Bourbon, comte de la Marche and constable of France, surnamed "The Flower of Chivalry," who was mortally wounded at the battle of Crécy (1345), whilst rescuing the King of France, Philip VI., out of the hands of the English. The portrait of this hero is placed at the top of the grand staircase at the Castle of Eu, and all who pass it are struck by its martial bearing. On the 11th July the young prince was baptized, his godmother being Mme. la princesse Clémentine, and his godfather the prince Antoine d'Orléans, son of the duc de Montpensier and brother of Madame la comtesse de Paris. The hopes, smiles, and joys of the family centred round this cradle; but, alas! on the 22nd January, nine months after his birth, the young prince Jacques was seized with convulsions, to which he succumbed, notwithstanding the able and untiring care of the doctors, who had been immediately summoned to attend him. It is impossible to depict the grief of Monsieur le comte de Paris, and of Madame la comtesse, who live only for their children, and who had already lost prince Charles in much the same manner. Powerless as all human consolation is in time of bereavement, the sorrowing parents could not fail to be touched by the deep and sincere sympathy manifested by all. On the 26th January, 1881, the Orléans princes followed the coffin of the little prince to Dreux. Madame la comtesse de Paris gave birth at Cannes to the princess Louise (24th Feb., 1882), who was baptized at Eu on the 28th May, Madame la princesse de Joinville acting as godmother, and Monsieur le duc de Nemours as godfather.

vice-president of the committee formed by the Franco-American Union with a view to the erection of a statue of "Liberty enlightening the world," received the following letter from the comte de Paris in reply to a proposal made by M. de Sérurier that the prince should inspect the statue in course of construction, and should put his name down among the subscribers :—

"Eu, March 3rd, 1878.

"MY DEAR COUNT,—

"I shall be doubly delighted to go with you to see the monument destined for New York, and at the same time to make the acquaintance of the marquis de Rochambeau.

"You know what interest I take in the union between France and America. At a time when it was the fashion to run down the great transatlantic Republic, and to disown the policy of King Louis XVI., I tried to prove to the republicans on the other side of the water, that sympathy with their nation and their institutions was perpetual in the House of Bourbon. I shall, therefore, be happy to associate myself in every way with the work which you have mentioned to me, and the only reason that I have not done so sooner is that I have not had an opportunity.

"I shall be at Eu for some months, but I shall pay one or two visits to Paris, and shall do myself the pleasure of informing you of my next visit, so that we may meet and carry out the plan you propose.

"Until then I beg to remain,

"Your affectionate,

"LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS."

On the 25th of March, after having visited the studio, and assured the sculptor, Bartholdi, of the interest which he took in the work, the comte de Paris sent his subscription to the comte de Sérurier with the following letter :—

“ Eu, March 21st, 1878.

“ MY DEAR COUNT,—

“ I beg that you will put my name down on your list as a subscriber to the amount of 5,000 francs. I am happy to be able to associate myself with this great national work, which will remind America of the glorious 4th of July, 1776, and will unite both nations in the bonds of the same great memory—a memory all the more precious as it has no connection with our present quarrels.

“ I remain,

“ Your affectionate

“ LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS.”

At the time that he wrote these two letters, M. le comte de Paris could not foresee that he would one day be exiled from his country under the pretext that his presence constituted a danger to the existence of the French Republic. While giving such proof of his sympathy with the American Republic, he could not suppose that other republicans would ever think of proscribing him.

His letters remain as proofs of his liberal ideas, and his attachment to national traditions. On reading them, Americans will not forget that the prince who wrote them, and who wished to contribute to the work

of international union and fraternity, was the same who at the time of their civil war came to place his sword at the disposal of a country which was fighting for the abolition of slavery, as she had fought in the last century for her liberty and independence.

On the 16th of June, 1881, a ceremony took place which was all the more touching from its very simplicity ; the young duc d'Orléans made his first communion in the church of Notre Dame d'Eu, in the midst of all the children of the parish.

In March, 1882, the Empress of Austria honoured with her presence the castle of Chantilly, where a brilliant reception was accorded her by the duc d'Aumale and the Orléans princes, and a splendid hunt was organized in her honour.

The comte de Paris was unable to be present, for he was then at Cannes, where Victor de Laprade, that true Christian, royalist, poet, and member of the French Academy was dying. The comte de Paris went several times to see him, and M. de Laprade was deeply touched by the honour thus accorded to him by the prince.

"Old Bourbonist that I am," said he, "it seems that royalty has come to bid me farewell in the person of the descendant of St. Louis and of Henry IV."

On the last of the visits in the Easter vacation (April, 1882), the comte de Paris was accompanied by his son, the young duc d'Orléans.

"I have brought my son to see you, M. de Laprade," said the prince, as he entered ; "he knows of all the interest which you take in him."

The poet's eyes filled with tears.

"As an old and dying man, permit me, monseigneur, to bless your son."

And he placed his trembling hands on the bowed head of the young prince.

Some days later, when those around him were talking of the delicate attention of the prince, M. de La-prade said :

"This visit gave me the greatest pleasure, and I, who try to find out the hidden meaning of things, like to think that as God has, on my death bed, shown this child to me, who have so truly loved France and royalty, it is a sign that he will one day be called upon to reign."

In August, M. le comte de Paris went to Paris to be present at the distribution of prizes at the Collège Stanislas, where the young duc d'Orléans had obtained the first prize for Latin translation in the fifth class. The prince, after remaining a few months in the fourth class, followed his father to Cannes.

He was a great favourite with his companions, being quick at every game, open-hearted, and very intelligent. When he returned to Paris, accompanied by M. Laurent, professor at the Collège Stanislas, who directed his education, he only took some private lessons at the college, residing at Eu the greater part of the year.*

Some days after the distribution of prizes at Collège Stanislas, the comte de Paris, having heard of the death of M. Crugy, director of the *Courrier de la*

* M. Laurent, student at the École normale, fellow of the University, official of the Academy, was for six years (1877-1883) tutor to the young duc d'Orléans.

Gironde at Bordeaux, one of those members of the provincial press, who for many years had faithfully served the Orléanist party, wrote the following letter to M. Emile Riffaud, a relation of M. Crugy :—

“Eu, August 20th, 1882.

“SIR,—

“I hasten to thank you for the kind thought which inspired your letter. You were right in thinking that I should feel the greatest sympathy with you in your sorrow. I had already been much disturbed by the sad account which our mutual friend, M. Méran, the lawyer at Bordeaux, had given me of the health of M. Crugy.

“Certainly for him death was a blessed deliverance, but for his relations and friends it is the irrevocable rupture of the last link to which they clung even when all hope was gone.

“It is at this sad moment that one recalls the life of him who is no more, his brilliant past, his courage, and his passionate devotion to the ideas which he had made his own.

“Having seen him from my childhood suffering in our cause, and for some time sharing our exile, it was a great satisfaction to me to find him again at Bordeaux when the gates of France had been opened to me, and to be able to assure him that I had not forgotten his long struggle for the liberal cause under the Empire, nor the hospitality he had always shown me in the columns of his journal at so sad and affecting a period of our history.

“His beautiful, original face, with its expression of

mingled sincerity and firmness, will always remain engraven on my memory.

"You may count on the sympathetic interest which I shall always take in those who, like yourself, have inherited his feelings for my family, and I take this opportunity of subscribing myself

"Your affectionate

"LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS."

At the beginning of September, grand manœuvres took place in the department of Seine-et-Oise at Septeuil, Curgemt, Dammartin. M. le comte de Paris, lieutenant-colonel of the territorial army, took part in them, and was especially interested in the manœuvres of the 5th Division, which marched past before him at Septeuil.

It was at this time that the comte de Paris went *incognito* to Rome, where he was received by Pope Leo XIII., who had often, particularly lately, expressed his regret at not knowing him.

It will be readily understood why I do not give here the exact words spoken by the Holy Father to the prince, who has the greatest respect for religion, impartiality in his personal judgments, real faith, and much indulgence towards others.

Profoundly and sincerely religious, the comte de Paris knows that "the Church, like the State, is a society perfect in its way, and autonomous; that those who wield power ought never in any way to abuse or humiliate her," that the Church ought to live in the State, not separated from it, but in peace and harmony. Like the Pope, M. le comte de Paris knows

“liberty ought not to be carried beyond those limits laid down by natural and divine law.”* Neither the Pope nor the prince desires that “any one should be forced to embrace the Catholic faith, for—as Leo XIII. quotes in his encyclical from St. Augustine—force can obtain much from man—all *except faith.*”

Enemies as they both were to license, friends of true and legitimate liberty (so indispensable to democratic society in this 19th century) Leo XIII. and M. le comte de Paris could not fail to understand one another in the very first interview. They separated with mutual admiration.

It is not my province to repeat all that was told me about this interview, but I may state with certainty that the Holy Father was immensely struck with the high standard and political wisdom of the prince.

It is said that some days after this visit, Leo XIII., charmed and touched by the pious sentiments expressed by the prince, exclaimed :—“It would be a great blessing for France to be governed by that prince!” In all ranks of society, justice has been done to the head of the House of France, and to the princes of the royal family. In October, 1882, at a royalist banquet at Lyons, the following toasts were proposed by M. de la Rochetaillée :—

“Gentlemen, allow me, after drinking the health of the King, to propose the toast of his august family.

“Let us drink to the health of S.A.R. le comte de Paris, who has passed his youth in exile studying the

various forms of government, the art of war, and all great social questions ; whose intellect, warm affections, and wonderful activity make him worthy of taking the first place in the House of France after Mgr. le comte de Chambord.

“I also propose the health of Mgr. le duc de Nemours, that living image of Henry IV., the brilliant officer whose memory still flourishes in the French cavalry.

“Of the prince de Joinville, the admiral, who, having been denied by the Government of National Defence the right of fighting for his country as a volunteer, followed the army of the Loire under the name of a foreign officer. At the battle of Orléans he was serving with a battery of marines ; no one knew him, but instinctively all obeyed him, officers and soldiers alike. He was content, while retarding the advance of the enemy, and protecting the retreat of the French army, to hide his own valour in the town of Joan of Arc.

“I also drink to Mgr. le duc d’Aumale, who wields the pen as well as the sword, and in whom the army recognized its chief ;—

“To Mgr. le duc de Chartres, who, in spite of the ill will of the government of Sept. 4, fought in the ranks of the French army, recalling by his courage the legends of the chivalrous Robert le Fort, whose name he proved himself worthy to bear ;—

“To Mgr. le duc d’Alençon, the distinguished artillery officer ; to Mgr. le duc de Penthièvre, who promises to emulate his illustrious father the prince de Joinville in his naval capacity :—

“Gentlemen, we drink to the health of all the princes

and princesses of the House of France, thus named as being the living personification of the country, and which, having in past centuries founded, with the help of the French nation, the unity of France, appears to us to-day, in the midst of our grief and reverses as the sole, supreme hope."

The *Decentralization* remarks that this toast was interrupted by frequent applause.

From Rome, M. le comte de Paris had returned to Eu where he passed the autumn, applying himself to works of charity at Tréport, at Eu, and at Dieppe; to this latter place he sent a subscription in aid of a free school which was being built. At the end of October a fearful storm brought great misery on Tréport. Out of thirty fishing-boats, ten sank, and fifteen men perished almost within sight of their homes and families. Never had such a disaster befallen Tréport. The comte de Paris went at once to the town, and consulted with the mayor as to the means of helping the families of the victims. Wherever there was a question of relieving sorrow or suffering, there were the comte de Paris and the comtesse de Paris to be found, not only giving help in the shape of money, but raising the courage of the sufferers with kind, affectionate words.

At the end of 1882, the comte de Paris selected as tutor to his son, the duc d'Orléans, M. Théodore Froment, one of the most distinguished members of the University. He was professor of Latin literature at Bordeaux, but he gave up his profession in order to devote himself entirely to the education of the young prince, whose studies he had directed at a distance for

several years. In 1868, Napoleon III., having been informed of the great ability of the young professor, had offered him the post of tutor to the Prince Imperial, but he had refused it; for, attached as he was to the Orléans family by bonds of hereditary gratitude, he felt himself unable to accept the offer of the Emperor. This refusal was not unattended with danger, and he had at that time not the slightest ground for supposing that he would become the tutor of the duc d'Orleans in France. M. Froment was crowned Poet by the French Academy in 1871, and had published an interesting work on judicial eloquence in France before the 17th century. His works show an elevation of mind which, in the eyes of those who study the future of their country, justifies the choice made by M. le comte de Paris. The education of the young prince, confided to this excellent master, was finished in 1887. M. Froment became director of the Collège St. Barbe, at the beginning of the October term, 1887.

CHAPTER V.

1883.

Discussion in 1883 in the Chamber and the Senate of M. Floquet's bill for the exile of the Orléanist and Bonapartist princes—The Senate throws out the bill, by a majority of five—The princes are deprived of their rank in the French army (Feb. 1883)—Visit of the comte de Paris to the duc d'Aumale in Sicily ; he goes to see the ruins of Pæstum, Ségeste, Sélinonte, and the Church of Montreal, near Palermo, Naples, and Pompeii (April, 1883)—First Communion of H.R.H. the princess Hélène at Eu—Illness of the comte de Chambord—The comte de Paris, the duc de Nemours, and the duc d'Alençon go to Vienna (July 2)—Interview of the princes with the comte de Chambord (July 7)—Return of the princes to France—Success of the duc d'Orléans at the Collège Stanislas—Death of the comte de Chambord (August 24, 1883)—Departure of the Orléans princes for Frohsdorf—The funeral ceremony at Frohsdorf—The comte de Paris informs all the powers of the death of the comte de Chambord—Return of the comte de Paris to France—Obsequies of the comte de Chambord at Göritz (Sept. 3, 1883)—An exact account of what passed there—Unity of the royalist party—Receptions of M. le comte de Paris at Eu—Publication of the 5th and 6th vols. of the comte de Paris's History of the Civil War in America.

ON the 16th of January, 1883, in consequence of the illegal arrest of Prince Napoleon, which had to be immediately cancelled, Government seemed to have become absolutely infatuated. The cabinet presided over by M. Duclerc (who was then ill) comprised General Billot, minister of War ; M. Devès, minister of Justice, and M. Fallières, minister of the Interior. M. Floquet, the deputy, laid on the table a bill for the exile of all members of families which had reigned in France. Urgency was voted, and the

discussion took place towards the end of January. M. Duclerc, General Billot, and Admiral Jauréguiberry, preferred to retire rather than support a law of exile which nothing could justify, and demand the expulsion from the army of princes who had always so faithfully served their country. M. Fallières formed another cabinet, and after numerous refusals, succeeded, with the aid of General Thibaudin, in carrying the disgraceful bill in the Chamber by 353 to 163 votes. No sailor could be found to undertake the admiralty!

In February the bill of exile was discussed in the Senate, and was thrown out by a majority of five.

It was then that General Thibaudin, contrary to the laws and regulations of the French army, and without any pretext whatsoever, put General the duc d'Aumale, Colonel the duc de Chartres, and Captain the duc d'Alençon "en non activité, par retraite d'emploi!"

We will relate elsewhere how this iniquity was accomplished. In the beginning of April, 1883, M. le comte de Paris and Mme. la comtesse de Paris accepted an invitation from their uncle, the duc d'Aumale, to stay with him in his palace at Palermo, in Sicily. The duc d'Aumale lives in the palace inherited from his father Louis-Philippe, and which is situated outside the walls, at the extremity of the place de l'Indépendance, opposite the old Palais Royal.

It is an enormous house, rather than a real palace; for there is no architectural decoration to distinguish it on the outside, and the apartments are furnished

with great simplicity. As soon as the arrival of the Orléans princes was known at Palermo, all the aristocracy came to inscribe their names at the palace, headed by General Palavicini, and followed by all the military authorities. The duc d'Aumale is much beloved in Sicily, where he has often stayed, and has always left the best impression. The gardens round his palace are magnificent. Not to mention the most rare exotic trees, there are 80 hectares (200 acres) planted in regular rows of orange and lemon trees, which fill the air with their perfume.

There are few gardens as fine in Italy, or even in Europe. From the terrace which overlooks it there is an extensive view, embracing the magnificent panorama from Mount Pelegrino to Mount Catalfano, to the right of which, when the sky is clear, the summit of Mount Etna can be seen.

Palermo is, *par excellence*, the town of gardens, excelling Naples in luxuriant Eastern vegetation. Dates, bananas, and cocoa-nut trees flourish everywhere.

It was in this enchanting spot that the duc d'Aumale received M. le comte de Paris and Mme. la comtesse de Paris, and took them to see his celebrated property of Zucco.

Zucco, celebrated for its wine, is situated 43 kilomètres (26 miles, 7 furlongs) from Palermo, on the line which runs between this town and Trapani. The distance can be done in two hours, but the journey there and back takes the entire day, owing to the inconvenient arrangement of the trains. The property consists of 4,000 hectares (10,000 acres), and yields annually 6,000 to 7,000 hectolitres (154,000 gallons) of red and

white wine. In the distance Zucco looks like a fortress. It is an enormous farm of several blocks of buildings, flanked at the four corners by a turret.

Vines are not the only things cultivated at Zucco. There are also 27,000 olive trees, the origin of which is said to date from the Saracens. Some of these trees are of such enormous size, that the outstretched arms of three people will only just meet round the trunk.

The comte de Paris examined this splendid property with the greatest interest, and showed a knowledge of the subject which more than once surprised those around him.

From there the comte and comtesse de Paris continued their journey to the magnificent ruins of Ségeste and Selinonte. One of the buildings which excited the admiration of the travellers was the Cathedral of Montréal, near Palermo. After spending a few days at Naples to see the ruins of Pompeii and Pæstum, they decided to return to Eu, as the comtesse de Paris was anxious to be with her second daughter, princess Hélène, during the last weeks before her first communion.

This touching ceremony took place at Eu towards the end of June. The princess Hélène (born June 16, 1871) is very beautiful. Three years ago, when she was still a child, she recalled the delicious portraits of Mme. Vigée-Lebrun, by her fresh and delicate style of beauty, especially when she wore the turned up hat which was then the fashion. Now the child has developed into a young woman. Her perfect kindness and affability remind one of her sister, the duchess of Bragance, and her look of great refinement makes one

recognise at once that she belongs to the first royal family of the world. The young princess had been prepared for her first communion in the chapel of the castle at Eu, restored by Louis-Philippe. It contains some beautiful stained glass windows, whose chastened light give to it the devotional aspect of a private oratory. On the carved wood-work is the escutcheon of the royal family, with the three fleurs de lis. Four large windows, designed by Chenavard, and produced at Sèvres, represent St. Louis with his cloak ornamented with fleurs de lis, St. Philippe, St. Victoire, and St. Adelaide. Two statues seem to be guarding the altar : these are St. Ferdinand, in memory of the lamented duc d'Orléans, and St. Laurence, patron saint of Eu. Over the altar is a symbolical picture, representing St. Amélie in prayer, offering masses of heliotrope, the favourite flower of Queen Marie-Amélie. Princess Hélène might have made her first communion in the midst of all these tender family associations ; but the comte de Paris, prompted in this instance, as in many others, by his nobility of soul, preferred that his children should not be separated from the children of the people, but should be associated with them in the same holy impressions and the same duties, by means of the same ceremony. It was therefore in the church of Eu that the service took place. The young princess took her place among her companions, as her brother the duc d'Orléans had done on a former occasion, and all the members of the royal family, mingled with the congregation, were sympathetic witnesses of this edifying sight. At the elevation, Mme. la comtesse de Paris, who was much

affected, sang "O, Salutaris!" with that sweet touching voice that had so often been admired by her friends at their little parties at Cannes and at Eu. Princess Amélie collected the alms for the poor, and the whole ceremony, with its simple, patriarchal character, left a deep impression on the hearts of all present.

A few days later an important event occurred.

On Sunday evening, July the 1st, the *Union*, the official organ of the comte de Chambord, published the following paragraph, which caused the greatest stir throughout France:—

"We have just learnt with inexpressible sorrow, from an official telegram from Frohsdorf, that M. le comte de Chambord has been seized with sudden and serious illness, and his state is such as to cause considerable anxiety to those around him.

"In obedience to his orders, we implore the earnest prayers of the nation for him.

"May God mercifully deign to preserve to the country the dearly loved heir to the throne!"

The marquis de Deux-Brézé (the representative of M. le comte de Chambord in Paris) had sent this notice to all the royalist papers, and had informed M. Bocher, who telegraphed the sad news to Eu. The next morning (July 2nd) a meeting of the Orléans princes took place in Paris, under the presidency of the comte de Paris.

It was decided that the grandson of Louis-Philippe should start that same evening for Vienna. Some officious advisers suggested to the prince that under the present circumstances his journey to Frohsdorf



Hélios Dujar-

S.A.R. LA PRINCESSE HÉLÈNE
1887

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might be considered as the act of an aspirant to the throne, and might be followed by expulsion.

"What does that matter?" replied the prince. "It is my duty to go, and I start to-night."

That same evening the comte de Paris, the duc de Nemours, and the duc d'Alençon, left the station de l'Est in a sleeping car, accompanied by comte B. d'Harcourt, and Captain Morhain. A few friends, the comte de Riancey and the marquis de Flers, came to the station to witness their departure, and intended following them the next day to Vienna, on hearing from them of the state of the illustrious patient. Two telegrams, which arrived at the last moment, announced a slight improvement, while declaring his illness to be very serious.

The train moved off amidst the respectful salutations of those on the platform. At eight o'clock next morning the princes arrived at Strasburg. They went to the buffet in the station, and the proprietors, who were honest Alsatians, recognised them and pointed them out to several of their friends. All present took off their hats, as the princes went back to their carriage, and formed a double line along their path. Indeed, at all the stations they were the objects of the liveliest and most sympathetic curiosity.

The next morning, July the 4th, they arrived at Vienna at 6.20 A.M. So many conflicting remarks have been made on the subject of the comte de Paris' two journeys to Vienna, that in the interests of truth, I think it right to give here two extracts—one from the *Français*,* the other from the *Moniteur Universel*,

* The *Français* was then edited by one of the most able of

which I shall supplement in some details by notes of my own, of which I can guarantee the perfect accuracy.

On the 4th of July, as soon as the princes had arrived at Vienna, M. le comte de Paris sent M. le comte Bernard d'Harcourt to the castle of Frohsdorf; he was to obtain news of the comte de Chambord's condition, announce the arrival of the Orléans princes in Vienna, and convey their best wishes to the illustrious sufferer; he was also to find out with the greatest tact whether the comte de Chambord would receive them as soon as his state of health would permit.

The next morning the marquis de Beauvoir and M. le vicomte de Bondey were sent to make further enquiries as to the health of the comte de Chambord.

On the 6th, M. le baron de Raincourt, who was then in waiting on the prince, came to Vienna to convey to the comte de Paris and to the princes who accompanied him the compliments of the comte de Chambord, and his thanks for the step they had taken. Madame la comtesse de Chambord would be happy to receive them, but she could not promise that they should see the comte de Chambord; indeed, M. de Raincourt believed that he was right in saying that the comtesse de Chambord thought it would be better to postpone the interview. Whether it were to take place at once, as the princes earnestly but respectfully desired, or whether it were put off, it was not the less certain that the sense of duty which had brought the princes to Vienna necessi-

journalists, M. Auguste Boucher, whose gifted pen recorded with scrupulous accuracy all that passed in this first journey of the comte de Paris to Vienna.

tated their going to Frohsdorf, especially now that the comtesse de Chambord declared her readiness to receive them, in spite of the fatigue and grief of the last few days.

A friend who knew well the generous character of the comte de Chambord, said to one of the princes as they were starting :

“As soon as Monseigneur knows that you are under his roof he will summon you to his bedside, for however great his sufferings, his strength of will is greater.”

This friend was not mistaken.

On the morning of the 7th, the three princes started for Frohsdorf, accompanied by MM. Bernard d'Harcourt, Emmanuel Bocher, de Beauvoir, and de Bondy. At the Vienna station they were met by the comte de Blacas and his nephew, the duc de Blacas, MM. de Charette, de Champeaux, and du Puget. The carriages of the comte de Chambord were awaiting them at the station of Wiener-Neustadt, and they were driven to the castle under a burning sun and enveloped in clouds of dust. The comte de Chambord's secretaries and the members of his household were assembled before the gates of the castle, and rendered the customary homage to the princes.

Dr. Mayr, who had again been consulted, had declared that morning that the comte de Chambord could not, without the greatest danger, receive his cousins ; it had, therefore, been decided that the interview should not take place.

However, the comte de Chambord, on hearing that the princes had started, firmly declared his intention of

seeing them. In vain was the clearly-expressed opinion of Dr. Mayr repeated to him.

"No matter," said he, with a trembling voice ; " I wish it."

And they had to yield to this determined will, which counted as nothing the pain, the danger, and even the possible sacrifice of his life.

The princes were first received by the comtesse de Chambord, and ten minutes afterwards they were conducted to the room in which the comte de Chambord was lying in such suffering.

It certainly was a grand scene. In that chamber where death seemed ready to seize the chief of the House of France, the last remaining descendant of Louis XIV., there stood the Orléans princes, representing with him who lay broken with suffering far from the Tuileries, far from his country, the entire Bourbon family, in an interview which would probably be the last. It was no longer France which united the comte de Chambord and the comte de Paris, as on the 5th of August, 1873 ; after an interval of ten years, it was God Himself who was uniting them by his mysterious decrees. . . .

And this scene, so grand in itself, was rendered still more impressive by the demeanour of the comte de Chambord.

At the sight of the comte de Paris, the comte de Chambord sat up in bed, took him in his arms with fatherly affection, and wept as he held him in a long embrace. Then he cordially welcomed the duc de Nemours and the duc d'Alençon, and grasping the hand of the comte de Paris, he compelled him with

affectionate force and with all his remaining strength, to sit down at the head of his couch. He then talked with each of the princes, and the conversation lasted fifteen minutes. He seemed quite to have forgotten his illness ; indeed, so great was his self-control, that he declared with a smile that he was better. With a touching tenderness, an absolute forgetfulness of self, and an extraordinary vivacity and lucidity, he talked to them of all that interested them personally ; there was nothing that he did not know and remind them of, or ask them about. When the princes who were afraid of tiring him by prolonging their visit, were about to retire, the comte de Chambord again embraced the comte de Paris with effusion, and clasped his hand as though he could not let it go.

When the princes joined the friends who were waiting for them, their eyes were filled with tears and their voices shook with emotion as they described the interview.

As they left the sick room, the comte de Paris, who was much affected, exclaimed :

“ How glad I am to see that they have exaggerated the gravity of his illness ! ”

The comte de Monti then took from his pocket the report of the first consultation which the three Vienna doctors had held, in which they declared that the condition of the prince was so serious that it was doubtful whether he would live through the night.

The comte de Chambord had given orders that at luncheon the comte de Paris should take his place—a delicate and significant attention which proved how entirely his mind was absorbed by one thought.

After luncheon the princes took a walk in the park ; they then paid their respects to the comtesse de Chambord, and after expressing their sympathy and their many good wishes, they returned to Vienna.

Such is the true and accurate account of this touching interview as we received it. The spectacle thus given on the 7th July to monarchical France, and to Europe herself, needs no comment to enhance its interest.

It was, as in 1873, a further manifestation of the unity of the royal family, and was consecrated on this occasion by a deep solemnity. It was not only, as on the previous occasion in 1873, that the comte de Paris bowed before the principle of monarchy represented by the comte de Chambord, it was the comte de Chambord who, on his death-bed, thinking only of France, tried to convince his country that the monarchy of the future—the same hereditary right—was represented by the comte de Paris.

One of the papers said on this occasion :—*

“No one could prevent him, in spite of suffering, from finishing his noble career by this grand act, which was his real will and testament. He acknowledged his heir on his death-bed, and those who think they can perceive in this sublime embrace something of a sacrifice are strangely mistaken.

“Not only did the comte de Chambord understand better than any one the laws and history of his country, but he knew that he was leaving in the safest hands the sacred deposit committed to him for France.

* *Figaro*, August 24th, 1887, “Un anniversaire.”

“He said to a friend on the 5th of August, 1873: ‘The comte de Paris is a really honest man.’”

As for ourselves, when we recall that scene, so worthy of our ancient history, we can only render to the comte de Chambord the homage due to his firmness of will, his courageous solicitude, and his royal forethought for the nation, and we feel sure that the whole of monarchical France will agree with us in mingling gratitude with our admiration.

The improvement in the prince's health being maintained, the comte de Paris left Vienna on Saturday, July 14th, and arrived in Paris the following evening at six o'clock. He dined with M. Bocher, and in the course of the evening he went to see the marquis de Deux-Brézé to express the satisfaction with which he brought the improved accounts of the comte de Chambord's health.

On the 17th the prince rejoined the princess at Eu.

The interview of July 7, 1883, had produced a considerable impression throughout France. It showed that it was no longer, as in 1873, prudence, but affection, which united the comte de Chambord and the comte de Paris.

We find a proof of this in the following touching letter, written from Vienna by the duc de Nemours to his daughter, princess Blanche.

“It was Madame herself who showed us into the room of the illustrious patient. We remained there alone—no one but us three. On seeing us Monseigneur raised himself in bed, and stretching out his arms, he placed his hands on the head of Paris, and em-

braced him tenderly several times. He then gave me his hand and said : ' Embrace me ; we have loved each other for a long time.' He also embraced the duc d'Alençon.

" He made us sit down, and talked to us with that beautiful voice of his that you know so well, asking all our family news—wife, children, no one was forgotten.

" While he was talking he held my hand and that of Paris, and repeated several times : ' I knew you would come, and I was sure that your visit would do me good. I feel that I am better, for it is not my heart that is ill, and I love you dearly.'

" The interview lasted seventeen minutes. Then I said : ' We are afraid of being blamed if we stay longer ; we had better be taking our leave. With God's help, which we are continually invoking, and with your own vigorous constitution, you will be victorious in this struggle with disease.'

" Monseigneur, taking the hand of Paris, replied : ' When you go home, tell everyone that it is not for me that they must pray, but for France. My one regret is that I have not been allowed to serve her—to die for her—as I have always desired. My one wish for you is that you may be happier than I have been.' "

The comte de Chambord had shown the strength of his will, not only by receiving the comte de Paris with every demonstration of affection, but by refusing to receive any other prince—even his sister's sons and daughters, whom he had brought up, and whom he looked upon as his own children. He had put a constraint

upon his feelings, in order to fulfil his duty as king, and to show the royalists who was to be his successor. The comte de Paris, too, had shown, by his prompt departure for Frohsdorf, that he was ready to undertake the responsibility which would one day devolve upon him. In taking this step the prince showed his firmness, decision, and powerful will ; and those who did not know him, began already to find in him a chief at once able, decided, and worthy of the grand name he bears.

For a month it was hoped that the progress of the comte de Chambord's disease, if not completely checked, might be arrested for a considerable time ; but Providence had decided otherwise. On the 16th of August all hope was abandoned. His strength rapidly declined, and he could no longer take any nourishment. On the 21st the doctors had a consultation, and announced that the prince was dying. He was fully aware of his condition, and retained all his faculties. At midday he said farewell to his nephews and nieces, and received the last sacraments.

For forty-eight hours he remained in a state of stupor, but at eight o'clock in the evening of the 23rd, Professor Drasche and Dr. Mayr announced to the family that the death struggle was beginning. Notwithstanding her courage, the comtesse de Chambord felt her strength fail her, and she fainted in the arms of the grand duchess of Tuscany, the comtesse de Bardi, and the duchess of Madrid. The princesses did all in their power to revive her, and mastering her grief, she did not again leave her dying husband. The prayers for the dying were said twice in the course of

the night, and the silence was only interrupted by the voice of the princess or of the comte de Chambord, who said a few words, amongst which could be distinguished "France!" The night passed thus. Towards seven o'clock Dr. Mayr told them that the end was very near. The priest said in a solemn voice, trembling with emotion, "Son of St. Louis, mount to Paradise." The prince drew a last long breath, and all was over. It was 7.27 A.M.

The body of the prince, exhausted and emaciated by suffering, was terribly thin. His long white beard flowed down to his chest, and his features, so calm in repose, wore an expression of indescribable majesty.

The first telegram announcing the news was sent to the comte de Paris, and all the Orléans princes declared their intention of attending the funeral.

From the first the comte de Paris had been actuated by the desire to show a profound deference to the wishes of the comtesse de Chambord, even in the smallest details. During the week of bitter grief which preceded the death of the comte de Chambord, the comte de Paris had been advised to hold himself in readiness to start at once for Frohsdorf on receipt of the sad news, so that he could give directions as to the funeral; but the prince did not follow this advice. He was particularly careful, with his extreme delicacy of feeling, to avoid troubling the august widow in the first days of her mourning, and he only wished to arrive in Frohsdorf in time to have one last look at the face of him with whom he had so recently had such a touching interview, and who was about to be lost for ever to the eyes of man.

The comte de Chambord died in the morning of the 24th; on the 28th the comte de Paris arrived at Vienna, having telegraphed to the comte de Blacas at Frohsdorf, to know at what hour he could be permitted to kneel beside the death-bed. The comte de Paris was accompanied by his son the duc d'Orléans, the duc de Nemours, the prince de Joinville, and the duc d'Alençon. He had also summoned to Frohsdorf the personal friends and the old companions of his childhood and exile, who had had the honour of being presented to the comte de Chambord since 1873; such as the comte B. d'Harcourt, formerly an officer in the cavalry; the marquis de Beauvoir, formerly secretary at the embassy; the vicomte de Bondy, and the vicomte Olivier de Bondy; M. Emmanuel Bocher, formerly a staff-officer; and Captain Morhain, of the "chasseurs à pied," who for twenty-eight years had been attached to the person of the comte de Paris.

The prince also had with him the old and much-respected family adviser, M. Edouard Bocher, member of the Senate; the duc de la Trémoille, and the duc de Fitz-James, brother-in-law of General Charette.

On the 28th of August, at 1.30, the princes left Vienna and went to Wiener-Neustadt, where the carriages of the comte de Chambord were waiting to convey them to Frohsdorf. The gentlemen in waiting cleared the chamber of death, and the new head of the House of France and his only son knelt reverently beside the remains of him who in 1873 and 1883 had embraced him with all the warmth of his heart. Then ensued a long and solemn silence. The comte de Paris was praying, and doubtless before addressing

Him on whom depends the fate of nations, he remembered the last words that he had heard spoken by the descendant of our kings: "It is for France that you must pray."

Over the bed floated the banner of Patey with the stains still visible of the blood of those who had borne it so valiantly on December 2nd, 1870. It had been providentially arranged that one of these heroes, M. Cazenove de Pradines, whose arm was still in a sling, should be on duty by the side of the corpse. The religious silence was only interrupted by the words of deep emotion which the comte de Paris addressed to the wounded warrior of 1870, who, standing at the bedside of the dead king, seemed a sort of type of France—heroic but mutilated. The young duc d'Orléans, very pale and deeply moved, watched this affecting scene.

That same day, M. Bocher had consulted with M. de Blacas as to the arrangements for the ceremony at Göritz. Full of respect for the grief of the comtesse de Chambord, and knowing her affection for her husband's nephews, the comte de Paris thought that in the chapel of the castle, under the roof of the illustrious widow, it would not be becoming for him to claim precedence. Although from the first he would have been justified in giving all orders for the arrangements of the funeral, he showed his great respect for Madame in her bereavement by claiming only in the official ceremony at Göritz the prerogative due to his position as head of the House of France.

M. de Blacas, in a letter to M. Bocher, confined himself to claiming precedence for the duc de Parma, the comte de Bardi, and even the duc de Madrid, as

nephews, or rather as nephews by marriage. It was agreed that on Thursday, the 30th, a categorical answer should be given to M. Bocher.

It is needless to say that M. Bocher, the tried friend of the Orléans princes, explained with his usual eloquence the motives which in the name of patriotism and from an historical point of view, ought to set aside a programme founded on no precedent and directly opposed to the known wishes of the comte de Chambord, and to his whole attitude since 1873.

The comte de Paris returned to Vienna the same Tuesday evening, and the next morning at an early hour he sent the following telegram to all the sovereigns in Europe :—

“SIRE,—

“It is my painful duty to inform you of the sad loss which the House of France has just sustained in the person of its chief, Monseigneur Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d’Artois, duc de Bordeaux, comte de Chambord, who died at Frohsdorf, August 24th, 1883.

“I venture to claim your Majesty’s sympathy with the House of France in these mournful circumstances.

“PHILIPPE, comte de Paris.”

The same day the various sovereigns replied to this communication.

In taking this step, M. le comte de Paris had only continued as chief of the House of France what he had always done in his character of head of the House of Orléans.

As soon as this duty had been accomplished, the comte de Paris sent to ask the grand chamberlain of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria on what day and at what hour His Majesty would receive him. He was immediately informed that two o'clock on Friday would be appointed.

During this interval a great number of French, faithful and intimate friends at Frohsdorf Castle, arrived at Vienna from France, and could not conceal their surprise on hearing of the counsels which had prevailed amongst the comtesse de Chambord's immediate advisers as to the funeral obsequies, and of the persistence with which the heads of the Spanish and Italian branches claimed the right of being chief mourners to a prince so thoroughly French as was the comte de Chambord.

Several of the French talked openly of proposing to the comte de Paris that he should take his prie-Dieu to Göritz and place it ten mètres in front of the others. The prince let them understand that he could not, out of respect for the memory of him whom the French monarchy was mourning, allow his friends to engage in any sort of struggle with those who wished thus unduly to dispute his claim to precedence.

It was hoped by many experienced politicians that the representations made at Frohsdorf by the duc de Bisaccia, comte Albert de Mun, comte Maxime de Damas, MM. Benoist d'Azy, and de Carayon-Latour would overcome a resistance which could only be inspired by those who were strangers to France.

One of the reasons put forward by the immediate advisers of the comtesse de Chambord was that

the Emperor of Austria did not wish the ceremony to assume the character of a political demonstration. This assertion was destined to receive on the following day a formal and complete denial.

Two hours before the comte de Paris was expected at the palace, the Emperor, wearing uniform, arrived unexpectedly at the residence of M. le comte de Paris. He talked with him alone for more than thirty minutes, desired that the duc d'Orléans should be presented to him, and when the French prince was about to accompany him from the salon to the foot of the stairs, the Emperor refused to allow him to do so, and twice insisted on his not coming a single step; the duc d'Alençon alone accompanied the Emperor to his carriage.

As the name of the Emperor of Austria has been mentioned in this account, we will take the liberty of devoting a few words to this sovereign.

The excellent impression left by the Emperor Francis Joseph when he went to Paris for the exhibition of 1867 still remains. He has a remarkably intelligent face, a keen, quick eye, and a military bearing. His exquisite refinement of manner and his extreme affability cannot fail to strike all those who have the honour of knowing him. He certainly is the first gentleman in his empire.

With admirable tact and self-sacrifice, Francis Joseph relinquished the absolute power which had belonged to his ancestors, and did not hesitate to give up some of his most important prerogatives in the interests of his country. He has become a model for constitutional sovereigns, and the affection of his people has in a great measure rewarded him. Throughout the coun-

try the people entertain a real and profound devotion to the Imperial family. Military questions absorb the Emperor, and he devotes himself to them with great and intelligent interest. He knew how to effect with consummate skill the reconciliation with Hungary—so jealous of her ancient privileges—and his reign will be a happy memory for Austria-Hungary. The Emperor is kind and charitable, and there are few sovereigns in Europe who enjoy so great and so well-deserved a popularity as he.

At two o'clock M. le comte de Paris went in his turn to the Imperial palace in the gala carriage of his cousin, the duke of Saxe-Coburg. As he entered the courtyard, the guard turned out and presented arms, while the officers saluted with their swords, and the colours were lowered before him. Inside the palace the prince passed through a lane formed by the Austrian and Hungarian officers of the body-guard in resplendent uniforms. Half an hour later the Emperor received the duc de Nemours, the prince de Joinville, the duc de Chartres, and the duc d'Alençon.

It is unnecessary to point out the importance of the fact that the Emperor went first to visit the head of the House of France.

While these visits were being exchanged, M. Bocher returned to Frohsdorf, to know what had been definitely settled as to the order of the ceremony at Göritz, and to declare that unless the comte de Paris were allowed precedence of all excepting the archduke who represented the Emperor, he should not go to Göritz, the head of the House of France being unable to accept a lower place without ignoring his rights and duties.

On Saturday, Sept. 1, M. le comte de Paris, accompanied by the duc d'Orléans, the duc de Chartres, the duc de Nemours, the prince de Joinville, the duc d'Aumale, and the duc d'Alençon left Vienna at 7.20 A.M., and arrived at Frohsdorf at 9. The King of Naples, and eight archdukes arrived at the same time. Among the French present were the dukes de Sabran, des Cars, de la Trémoille, de Fitz-James, de Bisaccia; Messrs. de la Rochejaquelein, de Damas, de Blacas, etc., etc. The ceremony, which took place in the presence of such a distinguished assembly, was truly touching, and was, at the same time, grand and simple.

Here a characteristic incident occurred. As M. le comte de Paris left the Castle, and was about to get into his carriage, a group quitting the mass of spectators, advanced towards him. Great emotion was visible on the faces of all this group, which was headed by the duc de Bisaccia, general de Charette, M. de Mun, and the duc de Fitz-James. When the deputation had approached, the duc de Bisaccia addressed the prince in the following terms :—

“MONSEIGNEUR,

“General Charette and I have come to beg you most earnestly in the name of France, in the name of all the French assembled here to-day, to go to Göritz as you had intended, and to take your rightful place there. By so doing, Monseigneur, you will best fulfil the wishes of him whom we mourn.”

The duc de Bisaccia, much affected, uttered these

words in a voice which trembled with emotion, and with an expressive, comprehensive gesture.

The prince replied, that he thanked these gentlemen for their noble words, and that he should consider them as a pledge for the future. Messrs. de Charette, de Mun, and de Monti supported the duke in his request with much vivacity and energy, and few of those present could ever forget the affecting scene. The speakers gave free vent to the enthusiasm which filled their hearts—an enthusiasm which was truly French, and all the more significant as coming from men who all their lives long had been the deceased prince's most intimate friends and devoted servants, who had defended him in the tribune, and had been considered his especial soldiers on the battle-fields of 1870. One felt, while listening to them, that they were speaking in the name of the deceased, and that the contemplated ceremony at Göritz would never have been sanctioned by the comte de Chambord, if he had himself arranged the details of his funeral.

But the desires of these ardent patriots, these loyal Frenchmen, were destined not to be fulfilled ; however, M. le comte de Paris, who had resolved to leave for France that same day, postponed his departure till the following evening out of deference to their wishes thus expressed.

A few hours later the comte de Blacas arrived at Vienna, bringing the wishes of Mme. la comtesse de Chambord written with her own hand ; she desired that each should take his place in the procession according to his degree of relationship to the deceased.

This meant that the chief mourners were to be two Italian princes and one Spanish prince, and that the chief of the House of France was to be placed in the fourth rank, so that his first act, on attaining this dignity, would be the lowering before foreign powers of the royal house to which France owes all her unity and grandeur. The comte de Paris did not hesitate a moment, but declined to be present at Göritz; he did not conceal the grief that this decision caused him, but it was his duty to absent himself, and, being his duty, he performed it.

It is worthy of notice that this decision was arrived at on Saturday evening, the 1st, and that the next day, at 8 o'clock A.M., the Emperor, modifying the official orders which he had given himself on the subject of the service at Göritz, caused himself to be represented, not by his brother archduke Louis Victor, but by his chief equeries.

Certain democratic papers interpreted this change in the Emperor's orders as a concession to demands which the French Government were about to formulate; but such allegations are known to be untrue. At Göritz the many French assembled to render the last sad duties to Henry of France had heard, with deep regret, that foreign princes were to be chief mourners; a national patriotic feeling filled all hearts, and had found expression in the touching address of the duc de Bisaccia.

As to the impression produced in France by these incidents, we are glad to be able to say that the conduct of the comte de Paris—so thoroughly worthy of France and of his own dignity—elicited universal

admiration. National pride was stirred by the sight of the representative of our kings defending the honour of his house, and that of France, which are indissolubly united. Indeed, the comte de Paris gave proof of that resolution which is the chief characteristic of his powerful mind, and which, in his case, has all the more weight from being associated with reflection—an alliance rarely seen !

All this explains how the prince, going to Frohsdorf in performance of his duty, found there—without seeking it—an occasion for personal distinction.

In his will, dated Frohsdorf, July 5th, 1883, the comte de Chambord had thus distributed his fortune. The duc de Parma, his nephew, was residuary legatee, a life interest being reserved to the comtesse de Chambord ; the comte de Bardi, brother of the duc de Parma, was to inherit a quarter of the fortune ; their sisters, the grand duchess of Tuscany and the duchess of Madrid, were to have 50,000 francs each ; then followed a list of souvenirs for various friends, and pensions for members of his household.

“ There is said to have been another will, which had an entirely political character, and from which the prince had read extracts to one or two who were honoured with his confidence. What became of this will ? Was it burnt or otherwise destroyed ? or has the comtesse de Chambord piously preserved as a souvenir this deed which was annulled by a subsequent will ? ” * It is a question that the comtesse de

* “ Henri de France,” by M. H. de Pène, p. 440.

Chambord alone can answer, and which will probably never be known.

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After having mentioned the events which occurred at Frohsdorf, it might be as well to tell of what happened at Göritz. I had gone there to join the prince, and I can vouch for the entire accuracy of my account, which, if necessary, can be confirmed by the comte de Montaignac, the marquis de Mornay, and M. Armand de Mas, three of the prince's intimate friends who were also at Göritz on the day of the funeral.

This is what I find in my notes, written the same day.

I had arrived at Göritz on Sunday morning, Sept. 2nd, and at midday there burst upon us, like a thunderbolt, the news that the comte de Paris had declined to attend the funeral. I went to the hotel, "The Three Crowns," where I found everyone in extreme agitation on hearing the decision of the comtesse de Chambord that the chief mourners were to be foreign princes.

There was but one idea:—"We Frenchmen refuse to follow the body of a French King to its last resting place, with Spanish and Italian princes as chief mourners. Let M. le comte de Paris be informed of the unanimous feeling that inspires all Frenchmen; and, perhaps, in face of so spontaneous a desire, Monseigneur will deign to yield to our wishes, and will take his place at the head of the French." About twenty of the former presidents of royalist committees met in a room of the hotel, "The Three Crowns," and drew up a telegram. It then became a question

as to who should sign it, for most of the names were unknown to the prince. Were there any intimate friends of the Orléans princes at Göritz? The baron de Roux-Larcy suggested the marquis de Flers; they came to see me at the "Poste," and, carried away by their representations, I sent the following telegram to Vienna, and to Trieste (where the comte de Paris was said to have gone *en route* to France by Venice):—

"To Monseigneur le comte de Paris.

"A rumour is current, and is causing extreme uneasiness, that Monseigneur does not mean to come to Göritz. I have been earnestly entreated by a great number of the presidents of royalist committees, assembled at the 'Poste' (whose names are in my possession), to implore Monseigneur to take his place at Göritz.

"With deep respect, I remain Monseigneur's most humble, faithful, and obedient servant,

"LE MARQUIS DE FLERS."

The prince, who had already left Vienna, only received the telegram two days later, and telegraphed the following reply:—

"*Gmunden, Sept. 4, 1883, 9.30 A.M.*

"To the Marquis de Flers, Hôtel de la Poste,

"Göritz.

"I regret the delay of your telegram, which I have just received here; you know that it is only regard for my dignity which prevents my appearing at Göritz.

"COMTE DE PARIS."

The agitation continued to increase, and all were unanimous in admiring the firmness and dignity of the new chief of the House of France. "Hitherto we had only accepted M. le comte de Paris; now we welcome him!" exclaimed all the most ardent legitimists. On Sunday night a great many royalists had arrived at Göritz. An important meeting was held at the Poste, under the presidency of baron de Lareinty, senator of the Loire-Inférieure, who showed on this occasion an intelligence, a decision, and an energy which were of the greatest service. There were present at the meeting: le vicomte de Kerdrel, senator; the prince de Leon, vicomte Blin de Bourbon, deputies; prince d'Aremberg, marquis de Vogué, comte de Maillé, marquis de Pontevès-Sabran, Marquis d'Imé Court, baron de Roux-Larcy, M. de Steplande, baron de Vaufreland, baron Jules de Lareinty, marquis et comte de Pâris, baron de Rochetaillée, Jules Auffray,* Remacle, Seguin, baron d'Huart, marquis de Puyvert, Fernand Anduze, and Élie Durand; the two latter were energetic royalists at Montpellier, who, after rendering the most valuable services to M. le comte de Chambord in Hérault, now placed their zeal and successful efforts at the service of M. le comte de Paris.

After a decided and much applauded speech from baron de Lareinty, who described the situation with touching eloquence, the following address was carried by acclamation:—

"The French assembled at Göritz to render the last

* M. J. Auffray is the author of a very interesting pamphlet, "Le 3 Septembre, 1883, à Göritz."

sad tribute to their King, having been unable to express to M. le comte de Paris their unalterable attachment to the traditional principles of the French monarchy, of which he is the representative, beg him to accept the assurance of their respectful fidelity."

As the arrival of the Orléans princes was still hoped for, the signing of this address was postponed until two o'clock the next day.

On Monday, September 3rd, 1883, at 7.30 A.M., the coffin containing the body of the comte de Chambord was brought by train to Göritz. Grief was visible on every face, and all eyes were filled with tears. After awaiting the arrival at the station of the Emperor of Austria's representative, prince Tour-and-Taxis, the procession moved off at nine o'clock to the cathedral, between a double line of soldiers, and surrounded by a vast crowd, whose demeanour was reverent and respectful.

The chief mourners were Don Juan of Spain (father of the pretender, Don Carlos), the duke of Parma, Don Carlos, Don Alphonso de Bourbon, his brother, Don Jaime (son of Don Carlos), Don Miguel de Bragance, and H.R. and I.H. Archduke Ferdinand IV., grand duke of Tuscany; the latter was the son of Leopold II., that excellent sovereign who ruled Tuscany with such wisdom, and whose memory is still cherished at Florence. Behind the mourners came a group of Austrian officers in full uniform.

The grand duke of Tuscany, though he attended the obsequies of his uncle, had emphatically declared that the first place in the procession ought to have been given to the comte de Paris.

The King of Naples, who on the Saturday morning had put himself in the background, saying that he would never take precedence of the King of France, had refused to attend the funeral.

Mass was said amid general devotion, and the final ceremony was adjourned till five o'clock in the afternoon. At last at 6.30, the convent of the Franciscans at Göritz received the mortal remains of the august prince, than whom none was more worthy to reign, though he had never actually been king. Indeed, M. le comte de Chambord, in the obscurity of exile, had known how to invest with peculiar brightness the principle of traditional monarchy and royal dignity. His incomparable majesty extorted respect even from his adversaries, and throughout France all, friends and enemies alike, declared him to be an honest man.

As for ourselves, we shall never forget the extreme kindness with which in October, 1879, M. le comte de Chambord received one of the faithful adherents of Louis Philippe and the Orléans princes when we were introduced to him by his nephew, the grand duke of Tuscany.

Why was France deprived of the joy of seeing her throne occupied by one who would soon have made himself beloved by all Frenchmen?

It is not for us to enquire.

Let us go back a little in our narrative, and describe what took place at Göritz between the morning ceremony at the cathedral and the evening ceremony at the convent.

After mass, the duc de Larochefoucauld-Bisaccia, president of the royalist Right in the Chamber of

Deputies, believing that there was no time to be lost in making known to France the perfect unity of the royalist party and its unanimous adhesion to the rights of the comte de Paris, sent to Paris the text of an address which assured the new chief of the House of France of the unalterable fidelity of all royalists.

This declaration, which was distributed by all the journals throughout the expectant country, produced everywhere an excellent impression, and from the first gave the lie to those rumours of disunion and rupture among the royalists, with which the republican press was endeavouring to poison public opinion.

The union, strengthened from without by the initiative of the duc de Bisaccia, had yet to be consolidated from within.

Thanks to the forethought of baron de Lareinty, the sentiment which animated all was not allowed to evaporate in barren regrets. Baron de Lareinty was better qualified than any one to act in this crisis. A member of the Senate, and president of the General Council of the Loire Inférieure, he had formed a large royalist majority in almost all the communes of the department. By his ability he had succeeded in demolishing all the republican prefects, and in counteracting the influence of the republican party even at Nantes, where the working population was particularly accessible to every revolutionary falsehood.

While the comte de Monti was uniting the delegates of the six departments of Brittany and la Vendée, who signed an address of fidelity to M. le comte de Paris, three or four legitimists (who were one day to form part of the handful of men who in France recognize a

Spaniard as heir to the French throne) were doing their utmost to prevent the signing of the de Lareinty address. Any pretext would suffice. The authorities of Göritz opposed any meeting, and insinuated that it was improper to sign on the very day of the funeral, knowing that the royalists would have dispersed by the evening on the following day.

The baron de Lareinty spoke firmly and decidedly, and imposed silence by his authoritative manner.

The hotel keeper, who had been talked over by the four obstructionists, having refused to provide a room in which the terms of the address could be discussed, they all adjourned to the room of vicomte Blin de Bourbon in order to sign the document.

Thus, in the end, the unfortunate incident which had caused the departure of the comte de Paris had an important result. The royalist party was in a moment united and cemented by the same loyal and thoroughly French feeling—the King of France must take precedence of all.

The royalists assembled at Göritz, especially the oldest and most faithful, were unanimous in blaming severely an action wrung from the weakness of the comtesse de Chambord in her great sorrow. All applauded the comte de Paris, and the comte de Blacas himself declared loudly that the conduct of the prince was in the highest degree correct, dignified, and praiseworthy.

The comte de Blacas, comte René de Monti, baron de Raincourt, comte A. de Chevigné, and comte de Damas d'Hautefort protested emphatically against the attitude which certain journals attributed to them by

declaring that they openly recognized "the right of M. le comte de Paris to the succession after M. le comte de Chambord."

These loyal servants of the comte de Chambord were the real mouthpiece of all French royalists, who were now more firmly united than ever against the common enemy, and they knew well that the motto of the comte de Paris would always be those grand words of the comte de Chambord: "Let right be our basis, honesty and uprightness our weapons, moral greatness our aim."

The comte de Paris himself was almost unknown to the Legitimists, but three of his actions in July and August, 1883, impressed them all with a sense of his firmness and energy as a prince, and his depth of feeling as a man, and they knew that he would never allow the inheritance of honour belonging to the House of France to be tampered with.

On July 1st, 1883, the prince heard of the illness of the comte de Chambord, and on the 2nd he started to see him, knowing that his action might entail banishment from France and long years of exile, but not hesitating to do what he considered his duty.

On August 24th God took to Himself the illustrious chief of the House of Bourbon. People were discussing the name which would henceforth be borne by him who will one day be King of France, when M. le comte de Paris, writing to inform the various sovereigns of the death of his cousin, signs himself "Philippe, comte de Paris."

Finally, although on the day of the funeral ceremony at Frohsdorf (Saturday, September 1st) he was content

to remain in the background out of consideration for the grief of Madame la comtesse de Chambord, and because he considered the funeral service as private, he declined to appear two days later at Göritz. His rightful place had been refused to him, and standing by the coffin of the comte de Chambord, he would not lend himself to a demonstration on the part of those French who in their anger and excitement wished to put him by force in the front rank.

These three actions of the comte de Paris constituted in themselves the best of manifestoes, unless we except the eloquent protestation of June 24th, 1886, and the complete and admirable "Instructions to the representatives of the monarchist party in France." France knew now that she could count on the energy and decision of the young intelligent prince who had been so early trained to business habits in the hard school of exile.

On his return from Vienna the comte de Paris went to the castle of Eu, where a great number of the old and faithful Legitimist notabilities requested the honour of paying their respects to him. The new head of the House of France gave to all a most gracious welcome.

On Sept. 20 the presidents of the "Ligue populaire royaliste" presented to the comte de Paris at Eu, the following address, signed by 1,500 persons, among whom were the presidents of the royalist committees of the Paris wards :—

"The Royalists of Paris, members of the 'Ligue populaire,' assembled this day, September 16, 1883, in their respective committees, desire to express their gratitude to M. le comte de Paris for his attitude—so

worthy of a Frenchman—at the funeral of M. le comte de Chambord, and—counting on him to restore to France her lost prestige, her violated liberty, her disorganized magistracy—they beg to lay at his feet, and at those of Madame, the homage of their respectful fidelity.”

In the middle of October, the comte de Paris went to the castle of St. Eusoye, to see the dowager marquise d’Harcourt, to whom he wished to present, in person, his condolences on the loss of her son, the marquis d’Harcourt, one of the most devoted friends of the Orléans family. At the same time, the prince, having heard that a subscription had been opened at Auray, in Brittany, for the erection of some memorial to the comte de Chambord, sent a contribution of 50,000 francs ; he also gave 30,000 francs towards the works of the port and piers of Tréport, which were to cost 3,500,000, and which were of the utmost importance to the town.

In 1874, the comte de Paris had published the first volumes of the “History of the Civil War in America” ; in Oct., 1883, there appeared the fifth and sixth volumes of this work, of which there will probably be ten volumes. This work is one of considerable merit, and received high commendation from the French and European Press. The *Edinburgh Review* especially renders to the author the full justice which such a book deserves—a book which proves that the comte de Paris possesses a knowledge of modern warfare, which must assure for him a place in the first rank of our military historians.

In the autumn of 1883, the comte de Paris appointed as his private secretary M. Camille Dupuy, advocate-general at Dix. M. Dupuy, when still a young man, had been a distinguished magistrate, but had sent in his resignation, in company with many other magistrates, at the time of the execution of the decrees of 1880 against religious communities. This choice of the comte de Paris was significant, coinciding, as it did, with the appearance of the unfortunately notorious letter of a Bonaparte, who signified his approval of this criminal illegality.

CHAPTER VI.

1884-1885.

The comte de Paris goes to Spain (Jan. 1884)—Attempt on his life discovered at Lyons (Jan. 1884)—The comte and comtesse de Paris attend the obsequies of the duke of Albany at Cannes (April 2, 1884)—The comte de Paris sends 50,000 francs to the victims of the cholera at Marseilles by the hand of the duc de Chartres—Visit of the count and countess of Flanders to Eu (July 22, 1884)—The comte de Paris, and the duc d'Orléans at a fire at Tréport (Aug. 1884)—Service at Eu to commemorate the death of the comte de Chambord (Aug. 24, 1884)—Letter from the comte de Paris to the comte de Laubespin on the death of his nephew, baron de Lespérut—Birth at Eu of H.R.H. prince Ferdinand, second son of the comte de Paris (Sept. 9, 1884)—Pope Leo XIII. sends his blessing to the infant prince, and to the comtesse de Paris—The comte de Paris sends 10,000 francs to the St. Peter's pence—He sends a subscription to the collection in aid of the chaplains of the Paris hospitals (Feb. 16, 1885)—Benediction of the statue of Notre Dame du Tréport (Aug. 23, 1885)—The archbishop at the castle of Eu—Marriage at Eu of H.R.H. princess Marie de Chartres with H.R.H. prince Waldemar, son of the King of Denmark (Oct. 22, 1885)—Mass for the soul of Alphonso XII. at St. François Xavier, in Paris (Dec. 6, 1885)—The comte and comtesse de Paris stand sponsors to the tenth child of H.R.H. the comte de Caserta, brother of H.M. the King of Naples (Dec. 20, 1885).

ON the 10th of January, 1884, M. le comte de Paris, and M. la comtesse de Paris went to Spain. Their departure had been announced, and a great number of people had taken up their position at the station of the Orléans line. The police had taken exaggerated precautions, and the order that no one was to be allowed to enter the station was rigorously enforced.

The prince and princess arrived on the platform by a private door; about 100 persons had succeeded in effecting an entrance by a way used only by the company, opening on the line, and, as the train left, they shouted "Long live the King! long live the comte de Paris!" As they left the station, some of them renewed their shouts of "Long live the King!" and three people were arrested by the police; by nine o'clock the station had resumed its usual appearance.

On arriving at Madrid, the prince and princess were received with the greatest cordiality by King Alphonso XII. Apartments had been prepared for them at the palace de Oriente; and they spent the following days in visiting the public buildings in Madrid, and the royal domains of the Escorial, Aranjuez, and la Granja.

The Madrid papers showed great sympathy with the comte de Paris, and his eldest daughter, princess Amélie, won the hearts of all as much by her wit as by her grace and beauty. Such papers as the *Epoca* recalled her likeness to her aunt, Queen Mercédès, who had left throughout Spain a perfect legend of fascination and goodness.

The welcome given by Spain, and by King Alphonso was so marked and cordial, that it was everywhere unanimously taken as a proof, not only of the personal feeling of the King towards the French royal family, but also of the sympathy which the entire Spanish nation, and its sovereign, entertained towards France. It was felt that the country ought to be distinguished from the Government, which was responsible for the untoward incidents that occurred when King Alphonso

passed through Paris. The French cabinet could not dissimulate the annoyance caused by the royal reception given by King Alphonso to the comte de Paris; wherever the prince went, whether to Vienna or Madrid, he was always treated as a King. It was at this time that King Alphonso, wishing to give an especial mark of his esteem and favour to Don Antonio, the brother of Mdme. la comtesse de Paris, appointed him grand chancellor of the military order of Notre Dame de Montesa.

From Madrid the comte de Paris went to the Castle of San Lucar di Barrameda to visit his uncle and father-in-law the duc de Montpensier. San Lucar di Barrameda, one of the prettiest towns of Andalusia, rises on the left bank of the Guadalquivir. The prince's residence is built at one of the extremities of the town, in a park where palms grow in the open air. Nothing could be more beautiful than the carpet of periwinkles, or the enormous orange trees growing out of a tangled mass of rarest exotics; while on the horizon the sandy delta of the Guadalquivir is framed in enormous forests of pine trees. Not far from there is the house of Fernando Cortez, the bold captain who conquered Mexico. This house, with all the historical associations connected with it, was for a long time the property of the duc de Montpensier, to whom it owed its artistic and judicious restoration. He gave it to his daughter Mercédès, who bequeathed it to her husband, King Alphonso XII.

The palace of the duc de Montpensier, partly built in the Moorish style, recalls the Alhambra at Granada; the interior is decorated and furnished with the taste

of a true artist. In this delightful retreat, and this delicious climate, the comte de Paris stayed some weeks, spending his days shooting on the Guadalquivir. A steam launch belonging to the duc de Montpensier was used for these excursions, and the banks of the river teemed with sea birds, so that they had excellent sport. By the 15th of February, the comte de Paris was back at Eu.

Before leaving Spain, the prince wrote to M. Lacave-Laplagne (senator of Gers), entrusting him with the duty of presenting the prince's condolences to the family of comte Armand de Gontaut, who had lately died. The prince's letter showed his consideration for the interests of his country, and his perfect knowledge of men such as comte Armand de Gontaut, who had devoted his life to the service of France.

In the beginning of March, the comte de Paris went with his family to Cannes, where the health of his fourth daughter, princess Louise—who was two years old—and who had had croup—had caused them some anxiety for a time.

Suddenly, on Sunday morning, March 9, the *Figaro* and *Gaulois* announced to their readers that the police had just discovered, at Lyons, an attempt on the life of the comte de Paris. The following account is taken from the *Nouvelliste de Lyon*, a paper noted for the accuracy of its intelligence.

“The Nihilists of France, instigated by their brothers in Russia, have again made an audacious attempt, the account of which cannot fail to produce universal excitement and indignation. They aimed

high, the object of their attempt being no less a personage than the head of the House of France. The comte de Paris was this time to be the mark for the fierce hatred of these revolutionists—his was the life they sought. It will be seen that all the arrangements for the execution of this fearful plot had been made with great care, and the consequences which would have resulted might have been fatal and incalculable.

“On Friday evening a commissionnaire, carrying a box under his arm, presented himself at the office of the P. L. M. Co., in the rue Constantine. It was 7 o'clock, at which hour the office is always crowded with people sending off their goods by the night train. The commissionnaire presented his parcel to the official in charge, who, after weighing it, signed the paper of consignment, and gave it to the clerk whose business it was to make the necessary charge for the parcel, which was to be prepaid. The sum of fr. 1. 25 was charged, and the commissionnaire went away. A moment later another official, who had to copy the declaration of the sender into a register *ad hoc*, was struck by the way in which it was labelled. The direction, carefully written in printed letters, was as follows :—‘Expéditeur : M. Becker, rue des Feuillants, à Lyon. Destinaire, Mgr. le comte de Paris, en son hotel de la rue de Varennes 57, à Paris. Portpayé.’ The parcel was described as a ‘box of silk, ironmongery and patterns, weighing 1k. 600, signed Becker.’ Now there is no such street in Lyons as rue des Feuillants ; but there are the “petite” and the grande rue des Feuillants. The official consulted the ‘Annuaire de Lyon,’ and found no one of the

name of Becker. He communicated his suspicions as to the contents of the box to the head clerk, and a careful examination of the box was made. It was well made of white wood, and was 25 centimètres in length, 11 centimètres in width, and 5 centimètres in height. It was wrapped up in thin light blue paper, and was tied round with string; the address, which was written in the same handwriting as the paper of consignment, was as follows:—‘Mgr. le comte de Paris, en son hotel de la rue de Varennes 57, à Paris.’

“The head clerk, more puzzled than ever, decided to open the mysterious box. He took off the outer covering, and perceived that the lid, instead of being nailed down, was made to slide, and was tightly secured with double string. The officials drew back the lid with the greatest precaution, but when they had exposed half the contents of the box they stopped in astonishment, and well they might. A large metal cartridge, surrounded by projectiles of every sort, and attached by threads of gun cotton to an invisible machinery, would have exploded at once, had the lid been entirely removed.

“This mysterious parcel was forwarded to the arsenal at Perrache, and from there to the magazine at la Mouche. The explosion resulting simply from the opening of the box must have caused fearful damage.

“We repeat,” says the *Nouvelliste de Lyon*, “that in this generous country, which repudiates all acts of cowardice, this attempt will awaken a feeling of mournful astonishment and universal indignation.”

In a subsequent copy this paper adds :—

“ M. Pierre Denis, chief clerk of the P. L. M. Co., and formerly under-officer in the artillery, was the first to have serious suspicions as to the contents of the box. Wishing to assure himself at once that it contained nothing suspicious, he ordered the official under him, Riboulet, to look out the box, which was about to be taken to the Perrache station. M. Riboulet appeared to be by no means surprised at his chief's suspicions, but he was somewhat alarmed when ordered to open the mysterious little case. M. Denis therefore, with the greatest precaution, drew the lid a little out of its groove, and was able at once to judge of its contents.

“ He informed his chief, M. Roche, who searched in vain in the ‘ *Annuaire* ’ for the name of the sender, M. Becker.

“ There could be no doubt that they had discovered an abominable attempt on the life of M. le comte de Paris. M. Denis sent for the commissary of police, Duplaquet, who was soon upon the scene. The rest is known—the danger was averted.”

The police did their utmost to find the author of this diabolical plot ; but their efforts were vain. In any case the assassins would have failed in their object, for it would in all probability have been the servants of the prince who would have fallen victims. The comte de Paris, with his usual generosity, sent a royal reward to the officials of the company who had discovered the plot.

At the close of his visit to Cannes, the comte de Paris assisted at the obsequies of the Duke of Albany,

who had died very suddenly. The Prince of Wales, who had hurried over to Cannes, gave the first place at his brother's funeral to the head of the House of France, and throughout the ceremony he was treated with royal honour. The ministerial papers did not hide the irritation of the Cabinet at this distinction, and it was declared high time that "measures" should be taken against the comte de Paris. But the hour for that iniquitous decree of exile had not yet arrived. On the 2nd of April the comte de Paris and his family returned to Paris by the same train that was bearing the mortal remains of the Duke of Albany to England.

On the 30th of May M. le comte de Paris went to the church of St. Clotilde to assist at the obsequies of one of his oldest and most faithful friends, the comte d'Haussonville, member of the French Academy.

A terrible epidemic of cholera broke out at Marseilles in the summer of 1884. A feeling of delicacy deterred the comte de Paris from going himself to Marseilles, for his efforts to help the sick and dying with money and kind sympathy might have been interpreted as the attempts of a pretender to gain popularity. However, he sent his brother, the duc de Chartres, with 50,000 francs for the sufferers. We will give elsewhere the details of this visit and of the anger which it excited amongst the Republicans. With a ridiculous *naïveté* one paper applied the term "brutal" (*sic*) to this journey of the duc de Chartres, who went himself to carry money, when "the post is there for the transport of valuables!" Could anything be more comical than this phrase? Surely to such an argument there can be no answer.

But the Republicans, more than ever disturbed by the progress which the royalist party was making every day in France, were obliged to draw upon their imagination to find subjects whereon to attack the Orléanist princes. One day it was announced in a paper that General Campenon, minister of war, had erased the name of the comte de Paris from the new "Annuaire militaire," in which he was put down as lieutenant-colonel on the staff of the territorial army. This was false. Every officer of the territorial army retires as soon as he attains the age of forty, but he is allowed to retain his rank if he makes a demand to that effect.

At the time of the decree of General Thibaudin, which placed the Orléans princes "en non-activité," M. le comte de Paris was put "à la suite;" that is to say, in a position answering to that of "non-activité." By a whimsical anomaly, officers in the actual army placed "en non-activité" are not entered in the "Annuaire," whereas officers of the territorial army placed "à la suite" do appear in the list. The comte de Paris remained, as during the preceding year, "en non-activité," and his military position was unchanged.

The receptions at Eu were continued, and on July 22nd H.R.H. the count of Flanders, brother of the King of the Belgians, accompanied by the countess of Flanders, came to visit his cousin the comte de Paris. A few days after his departure, at the beginning of August, a serious fire broke out at Tréport, and the comte de Paris, who had been informed of the occurrence, hastened at once to the

spot with his fire engine and rendered great assistance. The fire broke out at the brewery of M. Romain, in the high part of the town. At 6.30 P.M. dense clouds of black smoke alarmed the town, and in a few minutes flames burst forth and enveloped all the buildings belonging to the brewery, and an outhouse full of straw. At first it was difficult to organise any help; the fire-engines of Tréport and Mers, badly supplied with water, were of little use, and the neighbouring houses were threatened, when the fire-engine arrived from Eu. Under the direction of the comte de Paris, who was accompanied by his son the duc d'Orléans, M. Emmanuel Bocher and the marquis de Breteuil, the engine was set up on the quai, a 200-mètres hose was quickly unrolled, and soon the firemen of the town of Eu were throwing torrents of sea water on the centre of the fire, which was rapidly extinguished.

The Mayor was profuse in his gratitude to the comte de Paris for his timely help, which had probably preserved a part of the town from complete ruin. Of course some of the Republican papers found in this cause for ridicule. When the Orléans princes, accustomed to the work, are the first to undertake a duty not unattended with danger, they obey the inspiration of their heart and that sense of responsibility which their very name imposes on them. The Republicans, in ridiculing their action, only did harm to their own cause.

It was at this time that the comte de Paris sent 1,000 francs to the committee which had been organized for the relief of those who had suffered

from a terrible hail-storm which on the 12th of July had caused great havoc in the department of the Seine-Inférieure; he also sent substantial help to some poor farmers, who were nearly ruined by the hurricane.

The anniversary of the comte de Chambord's death was now approaching. The prince had given orders that a service should be performed at Paris in the parish church of St. François-Xavier, and a solemn service also took place at Eu, Aug. 24, 1884. The church was entirely hung with black, and the draperies were caught up at regular intervals by shields bearing the arms of France. M. le comte de Paris, and Mme. la comtesse de Paris, notwithstanding her delicate state of health, occupied chairs in front of the choir, and behind them were the duc d'Orleans and his sister Princess Amélie, the princesses of the royal family, and all the household of the comte de Paris. Behind the princes was an enormous crowd of the inhabitants of the town, and of royalists from the neighbourhood, who filled the church to overflowing.

Towards the end of August there appeared in some of the papers the following letter, written by the comte de Paris to the comte de Laubespín, Conseiller-général of la Nièvre, on the occasion of the death of his nephew, baron Lespérut, formerly a secretary of legation.

“DEAR M. DE LAUBESPIN,

“M. de Beauvoir, knowing my feelings towards your nephew, telegraphed the news of his

death to me, and I hastened to telegraph my expressions of deep sympathy. I desire now to thank you for the kind thought which inspired your letter, and to express at greater length than I was able to do in my telegram, how deeply I feel the loss of M. de Lespérut. I knew him well enough to thoroughly appreciate the rare qualities of his heart and mind. His weak health, which caused him much suffering, so courageously borne, had enabled him to devote himself more than most people to study, and his mind had attained an exceptional culture. I had hoped that he would have been able to devote his many brilliant faculties to the service of France, and of the cause to which, by tradition and conviction, he was so passionately attached. God has ordained otherwise ; though He has doubtless saved him from many a suffering, He has deprived us of a friend whose loss will be keenly felt. Both the comtesse de Paris and I sympathize deeply with Mme de Lespérut in her terrible grief. May I request you to be our spokesman in these sad circumstances, and believe me

“ Your very affectionate

“ PHILIPPE, COMTE DE PARIS.”

“ P.S. Many thanks for your expressions of sympathy with us on the sad anniversary of July 13. I know well how faithfully you treasure the memory of my father, and this is a link between us, which each year does but strengthen ! ”

Some days later collections were made in all the

churches in Paris in aid of the chaplains of the Paris hospitals, who had been deprived of their salary, and the comte de Paris sent 1,000 francs to Cardinal Guibert* for this object.

This simple life, this perfect attitude of the chief of the House of France, which bore so plainly the impress of real patriotism, began to be appreciated even by the enemies of the royalist party. M. Paul de Cassagnac, deputy of Gers, an old adversary of the Orléans princes, but one who was able to form an impartial opinion, had discussed the political situation in France with the correspondent of the *Daily News*.

The following is the résumé of the conversation which was reported in all the papers (April, 1885):—

“It is well known that I am an imperialist, but I am, above all, and in the widest sense of the word, a monarchist. I respect the principle of monarchy, and I have the greatest respect for the comte de Paris. I will even own, in all sincerity, that in the present state of things it is he who has much the best chance of

* Sept. 9, 1884.—The comtesse de Paris gave birth to a son, who received the name of Ferdinand, after his grandfather the duc d'Orléans. Pope Leo XIII., having been duly informed of the event, sent his blessing to the infant, its mother, the comte de Paris and all the royal family. The comte de Paris, in commemoration of this happy event sent 10,000 francs to the papal nuncio Mgr. de Rende, as a contribution to the St. Peter's Pence. On October 26th the young prince was baptized in the chapel at Eu, his sponsors being Francis II., King of Naples (represented by the duc d'Alençon) and the comtesse de Girgenti, eldest sister of the King of Spain (represented by princess Hélène d'Orléans). The young prince, who will probably inherit from his maternal grandfather, the duc de Montpensier, the domain of Randau, will also one day bear the title of duc de Montpensier.



S.A.R. LA PRINCESSE ISABELLE
1886



S.A.R. LA PRINCESSE LOUISE
1886



S.A.R. LE PRINCE FERDINAND.
1886

replacing the Republic when it shall have been overtaken by its inevitable ruin. His party is the best organized, and has the incomparable advantage of having a head. The comte de Paris is a really superior man, conscientious, hard-working, well-informed, a man of study and a man of the world. He has studied men and manners, and has learnt all that is necessary to be a good ruler. We Bonapartists are not so favourably situated. Prince Jérôme is hopeless; he is too old to disown all that he has said, to undo all that he has done. We can do nothing either with or for the country in his name, he is a man entirely deprived of all moral sense."

On the 23rd of August a very beautiful religious ceremony took place at Tréport, where the population lives entirely by fishing, and is especially devoted to the worship of the Blessed Virgin. A statue of our Lady of Tréport, which for centuries had stood at the foot of the mountain on which the church now stands (the old chapel of a convent of Génoirfains), had been destroyed by time. The fishermen had opened a subscription amongst themselves to replace this ruined statuë, but, as the sum collected was not sufficient, the comte and comtesse de Paris made up the deficit, and the Archbishop of Rouen came to Tréport to bless the statue. In the morning, at High Mass, the abbé Vallet, chaplain of the Lycée Henri IV. in Paris, preached a remarkable sermon on charity in the presence of the comte de Paris, who was sitting in the Churchwardens' seat with the princesses Amélie and Hélène and the duke and duchess of Montpensier.

The comtesse de Paris, who was in the choir, sang Beethoven's "Sanctus," the "O Salutaris" and the "Crucifix," by Faure, and during the offertory (which was collected by princess Amélie) she sang Gounod's "Ave Maria." The offertory was very large; on coming out of church the crowd pressed forward, and all hats were raised respectfully as the royal party passed out. At three o'clock a procession of several thousands of persons went along the streets and the quays, and Mgr. Thomas, archbishop of Rouen, preached an open air sermon in honour of her who is the patron saint of France, and especially of sailors, after which he went to the castle of Eu, where he was warmly welcomed by the comte de Paris.

Some days later the prince received from Rome a brief from the Holy Father, in which Leo XIII. granted the dispensation necessary for the celebration of the marriage between H.R.H. Prince Waldemar, son of the King of Denmark, and Mademoiselle la princesse Marie, eldest daughter of Monseigneur le duc de Chartres, according to the ritual of mixed marriages between Catholics and Protestants.

The marriage took place at the castle of Eu, October 22nd, 1885. The nuptial benediction was pronounced by Mgr. d'Hulst (grand vicaire de Paris), assisted by the dean of Eu and the abbé de Beauvoir. Mgr. d'Hulst gave a touching address on the duties of married life, and spoke of the ancient friendship existing between France and Denmark, which the present marriage would cement. He made a graceful allusion to the royal race of which Prince Waldemar is a worthy scion—a race which can count amongst its members

five European sovereigns. Then, turning to the Orléans princes, he paid a worthy tribute to the ancient House of Bourbon, whom all the vicissitudes of politics had been unable to displace from the high rank accorded to it by the grandeur of its past history.

As soon as the Catholic ceremony was over, princess Marie, holding in her hand a magnificent white bouquet sent to her by the officers of the 12th regiment of Chasseurs at Rouen (of which for four years the duc de Chartres had been colonel), traversed the long gallery on the ground floor, leaning on the arm of prince Waldemar. They were followed by the Queen of Denmark, the prince and princess of Wales, the grand duke Alexis of Russia, the duchess of Cumberland, the princes and princesses of the English royal family, prince Philip and prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, and all the princes of the House of France.

Pastor Jentzen, chaplain to the Queen of Denmark, then married the son of his sovereign to princess Marie according to the Protestant rite, and said a few words in Danish expressive of his sympathy with France, and with the illustrious House of Orléans.

At three o'clock a splendid luncheon was served in the gallery of the Guises. At the chief table sat the Queen of Denmark, with the thirty-five princes and princesses who had been present at the ceremony, and the two witnesses, the duc Decazes et de Glucksburg (a Danish title given to his father) and the comte de Moltke, Danish minister in France. The various suites occupied the large dining room, where a horse-shoe shaped table was spread. During the repast the band of Tréport played under the castle windows. At

seven o'clock prince and princess Waldemar started for Chantilly.

That winter had a sorrowful termination. It was with the deepest sorrow that the comte and comtesse de Paris heard of the premature death of the young King of Spain, Alphonso XII., who was suddenly torn from the affection of the entire nation. King Alphonso, an energetic and intelligent prince, was one of those kings who love their subjects, identify themselves with the nation of which they are the head, and are always studying the welfare of the public. Consternation was general throughout Spain, and all conservative and monarchical Europe mourned the young sovereign.

At the beginning of 1884, the comte de Paris had been received at Madrid with affectionate cordiality, which had done much to strengthen the ancient ties between King Alphonso and the House of Bourbon. It was, therefore, not only a complimentary but a heartfelt mourning on the part of the Orléans princes and their friends. The comte and comtesse de Paris spoke not only for themselves, but also in the name of a very large number of the French people, when they sent their sincerest condolences to the Queen Regent of Spain, Christine of Austria. This was proved by the numbers who on the 4th December went to the church of St. François-Xavier (the parish church of the comte de Paris), where a funeral mass was celebrated for the soul of Alphonso XII. The church was entirely draped with black, and hung with the arms of Spain. The comte and comtesse de Paris and all the Orléans princes then in Paris were in the front rows, and an immense crowd had collected to express sorrowful sympathy

with Spain and with the Queen Regent. The French aristocracy, the middle classes, the world of science, of letters, and of politics, were all represented. They prayed for the King and for the Queen Regent (who was shortly expecting her accouchement), that she might be enabled to fulfil the difficult and arduous duties devolving on her.

In the following May she gave birth to a son, Alphonso XIII. The ability of the Queen Regent, who was able to triumph over the difficulties and obstacles of the political situation, proved that the virtue and political cleverness of the illustrious Marie-Thérèse were united in her granddaughter.

It has been truly said : " The Spanish are more fortunate than we are ; the principle of monarchy is presented to them in the most touching form : they have a queen to love and a woman to defend."

Soon afterwards the comte and comtesse de Paris went to Cannes, where, in their villa of St. Jean, they spent the cold months of winter.

On Saturday, December 19th, the comte de Paris and his eldest daughter, princess Amélie, stood sponsors to the tenth child of their cousin, H.R.H. the comte de Caserta, brother of King Francis II. of Naples.

Thus terminated the year 1885, which preceded by a few months only the iniquitous decree of exile pronounced against the head of the House of France and his eldest son, by a Republic which had taken fright at the ever-increasing flood of conservative opposition.

CHAPTER VII.

JANUARY—JUNE, 1886.

Telegram from the comte de Paris to the comte de Blois, nephew of the comte de Falloux, on the death of his uncle (January 10th, 1886)—The comte de Paris and the duc de Bragance at the French Academy—The King and Queen of Portugal demand the hand of princess Amélie for the duc de Bragance—The comtesse de Paris goes to Madrid for the marriage of her brother, prince Antoine, with princess Eulalie, sister of Alphonso XII.—Visit of the comte de Paris to the agricultural meeting at the palais de l'Industrie—Departure of the prince to Cannes, March, 1886—Telegram announcing to the comte de Paris the death of the comtesse de Chambord, March 25th, 1886—He returns to Paris—He gives a grand reception in the rue de Varenne on the occasion of his daughter's marriage (May 15th, 1886)—Remarks of the Republican papers—Attempts are made to bring about the expulsion of the princes—Embarrassment of the Government—Princess Amélie bids farewell to Eu, and goes to Portugal (May 17th)—Enthusiastic reception at all the stations *en route*—Marriage of the princess at Lisbon (May 22nd, 1886)—Fêtes at Lisbon.

At the beginning of the year 1886 the royalist party sustained a severe loss in the death (January 6th) of the comte de Falloux, member of the French Academy, formerly Minister of Public Instruction, and author of the celebrated law of 1850 on education.

During the arrangements for the funeral, his nephew, the comte de Blois, received the following telegram from the comte de Paris :—

“ I hear that the funeral of the comte de Falloux will take place to-day at Angers. I am anxious to assure you how heartily I participate in the respect which so

many friends will unite in rendering to the memory of your illustrious uncle. No one can feel more deeply than I the loss of so eminent a statesman, whose heart was so thoroughly French, his judgment so just, his counsels so enlightened, and his society so charming and so improving. I sympathise with you in your sorrow and join my prayers to yours.

“PHILIPPE, COMTE DE PARIS.”

It was a consolation to the family of M. de Falloux to receive a mark of such great sympathy from the head of the House of France, who, a few days later, in a letter to M. de Blois, paid a still higher tribute to the great qualities of the deceased, and to the services which he rendered to France.

Towards the end of January the comte and comtesse de Paris went to Chantilly, where the duc d'Aumale was entertaining H.R.H. the duc de Bragance, prince royal of Portugal.

The principal object of this visit on the part of the young prince was to obtain the consent of the comte de Paris to his proposal for the hand of H.R.H. princess Amélie. Some capital sport was organised in his honour at Chantilly, and after a few days the young princess accepted him as her suitor.

The duc de Bragance saw a great deal of the comte and comtesse de Paris, although his father had not yet formally demanded the hand of the princess. On the 4th of February he accompanied them to the French Academy, which had met for the reception of a new member, M. Ludovic Halévy.

M. Halévy made a speech before all the *élite* crowded

beneath the dome, sketching the life of his predecessor, comte d'Haussonville, whom he declared to be the most perfect type of a finished and cultivated gentleman—kind, liberal, and patriotic. He recalled his *début* in diplomacy under the constitutional monarchy, “that Government which assured to France the two great blessings of peace and liberty. Political life at that time was extraordinarily animated, and the France of that day did not disdain to admire those who ruled over her. Her ministers never neglected, compromised, or betrayed the great interests confided to them, and France, wisely and patriotically governed, then a great nation, enjoyed the respect and good will of all Europe. . . .

“It seems to me, gentlemen,” continued M. Halévy, addressing his colleagues, “that you are obliged, if only from a feeling of *esprit de corps*, to own with M. d'Haussonville that France was then in very good hands, for she was in the hands of your predecessors. The King reigned, the French Academy governed. . Hence the firm alliance which existed between politics and literature, which could not fail to impart such a brilliancy to that period of our history—a period full of grand associations. Alas! now it is no longer the Academy that produces our ministers.”

This meeting was a great success for M. Halévy and for M. Pailleron, who admitted him. The impression produced by their speeches, and the vigorous applause, in which the royal party joined, were well deserved, for the two academicians had been prodigal in their display of wit and talent.

On Saturday, February 6th, two days after this bril-

liant reception, the Portuguese ambassador, M. le comte d'Andrade Corvo, delivered to the comte de Paris autograph letters from the King and Queen of Portugal, containing a formal demand for the hand of princess Amélie of France for the duc de Bragance, prince royal and heir to the crown of Portugal. The comte and comtesse de Paris at once gave their consent, and at two o'clock the duc de Bragance, accompanied by his aides-de-camp, paid his first formal visit to princess Amélie.

The next day, Sunday, February 7th, a dinner was given by the comte de Paris at his house in the rue de Varennes, to celebrate the betrothal, and there were present the princes of the royal House of France, King Francis II. of Naples, and the members of the Portuguese embassy at Paris. At the end of the banquet, the comte de Paris arose and proposed the health of the King and Queen of Portugal, expressing the lively satisfaction which the union of the two families afforded him. The duc de Bragance replied to this speech, and proposed the health of the comte and comtesse de Paris.

On Tuesday, the 9th, the duc de Chartres gave a grand dinner in his honour at his residence in the rue Jean-Goujon, and the next day the prince started for Eu for some hunting.

All those who knew the duc de Bragance during his stay in France declare unanimously that he is what was formerly called a perfect gentleman, and is also, like his father, a prince of the modern school, with liberal ideas and artistic tastes. He was born September 28th, 1863, two years to the day before the princess

Amélie. The prince has a good figure, a small head, and a frank, decided, intelligent expression. Skilled in music and water colours, a refined man of letters, this young prince (who can speak eight languages) is ignorant of nothing connected with the arts and literature of his own or any neighbouring country. He is an excellent rider, a first-rate shot, and having been accustomed from his childhood to every sort of bodily exercise, he possesses iron nerves.

The King, his father, remembering what had in past time formed the greatness of the House of Bragançe, took pains to make him a good sailor.

Princess Amélie was born September 28th, 1865. Her grace, her tact, and her intellect recall her grandmother, the duchesse d'Orléans, that admirable woman, who was so prematurely torn away from the affection of her family and of those who knew her.

"This marriage with the due de Bragançe," said M. Hervé, "does not only unite a young and brilliant prince to a charming, accomplished princess, but it brings together two families, two nations, which at more than one period of their history have come in contact with each other. . . . It was a descendant of Robert le Fort and of Hugues-Capet who founded in Portugal the most ancient royal stock, and history proves how the friendly relations existing between France and Portugal have been less often interrupted than in any other European State. . . . The marriage of the heir to the throne of Portugal with a princess of France only strengthens these relations. France still profits by the rank which the ancient family of her kings has maintained in Europe by the alliances which

they have contracted and by the influence which they exercise."

On the 20th of February, H.R.H. the duchesse de Chartres held a brilliant reception in honour of the duc de Bragance, at which the comte de Paris, the comtesse de Paris, and the princess Amélie were present. About six hundred people of every rank in society came to pay their respects to the royal family.

The next day the comtesse de Paris started for Madrid to be present at the marriage of her brother, prince Antoine d'Orléans (youngest child of the duc de Montpensier), with princess Eulalie, sister of the late King of Spain, Alphonso XII., who had known of this union some weeks before his death, and had signified his approval.

The wedding, which had to be postponed for a few days, on account of the illness of the young princess, took place in the chapel of the Palais-Royal at Madrid on Saturday, March 6th.

At nine o'clock on the previous evening the betrothal had taken place according to the etiquette of the Spanish court, but on account of the mourning of the royal family the ceremony was as private as possible, being restricted to indispensable formalities. The Queen Regent occupied the throne, having on either side of her the comtesse de Paris, Queen Isabella, the duke and duchess of Montpensier, the duc de Chartres, the Infantes and Infantas of Spain.

All were in mourning. Princess Eulalie had at her throat a bunch of violets and orange blossoms, and the ladies of the court wore the regulation red ribbon.

M. Alonso Martinez, minister of justice, acting in

his capacity of royal notary, read the marriage contract, which was signed by all the royal family.

The next morning, at eleven o'clock, the Cardinal Patriarch of the Indies performed the marriage service. After reading the epistle, he, with his crozier in his hand, and wearing his mitre, proceeded to bless the rings and the thirteen pieces of money, which, according to the Spanish custom, are presented by the bridegroom to the bride. Each gold piece weighs one ounce ; eight of them bear the image of King Philip V., and the other five that of King Ferdinand VI.

Prince Antoine, attired in the splendid uniform of a lieutenant of the Princess's Hussars, with the insignia of the Golden Fleece, and the Order of Charles III., and the fair princess Eulalie, looking charming in her white dress, were the centre of attraction.

At four o'clock a special train conveyed the bride and bridegroom to Aranjuez, where they arrived in about an hour, and took up their residence in the magnificent royal mansion built by Philip II., about twenty miles from Madrid, in a delicious valley, in the midst of which the Tagus receives the waters of its tributary, the Jarama. It was in this lovely shady retreat that the young couple spent the first days of their long-wished-for union.

M. le comte de Paris, who had remained in Paris, attended the grand agricultural meeting at the palais de l'Industrie, accompanied by the duc d'Orléans, and the marquis de Dampierre, president of the Société des Agriculteurs de France, and spent two days minutely inspecting everything. He then left for Cannes with princess Amélie and her *fiancé*, the duc

de Bragance, and was there to be joined by the comtesse de Paris on her return from Spain. While at Cannes the comte de Paris received the announcement of the death of the comtesse de Chambord; the prince immediately replied by telegram :—

“ *Cannes, March, 25th, 1886, 7.32.*

“ I beg to thank you for your telegram, which has grieved me deeply. A mass shall be said on Saturday at 12 o'clock, in my parish Church at Cannes. We shall go into mourning.

“ PHILIPPE, COMTE DE PARIS.”

The prince attended this mass with all the members of the royal family then at Cannes, and went into mourning for three months. The day fixed for the departure of princess Amélie was approaching, and the royal party returned to Paris. On Wednesday, May 5, the comte and comtesse de Paris drove at 1.30 to M. Chalot, a photographer, at 18 rue Vivienne. The carriage having been recognised, a crowd collected in the street, upon which the coachman drove into the courtyard of the house, but shortly afterwards he received orders to take the carriage to the place du Palais Royal, so that the crowd might disperse. At 3.30, the comte and comtesse de Paris left the photographer's. The crowd had increased, hats were lifted, and the prince, acknowledging the bows of those around him, walked along the rue Vivienne, and the galerie Montpensier to M. Leroy, the jeweller's, followed by a large number of people. The prince, anxious not to attract any further notice, left

the shop by the rue Montpensier, and entered his carriage in the place du Palais Royal, recognised and enthusiastically greeted by all who were anxious to show their respect and sympathy. Some of the Republican journals, with extraordinary disregard of truth, distorted this simple incident, and declared that the prince, in order to escape from the hisses of the mob, had been obliged hurriedly to get into a cab. Every word was untrue, but truth can hardly be expected from Party spirit !

The royal party returned to Eu, and the inhabitants hastened to pay their farewell visits to princess Amélie ; the most touching scenes took place during the last days which the young princess passed at Eu. At the very moment of her departure a master cooper requested permission to pay his respects to the princess, and was admitted into the presence of the royal family. " Monseigneur," said he to the comte de Paris, " forty years ago, when the princess your mother was on her way to Orléans, she was informed that a poor working cooper had just been slightly wounded in the yard of the house in which she then was. She desired to see him, and gave him a gold piece of forty francs. I am that workman—this is the gold piece. I have gone through great privations, but I never would part with it, and in the end it has brought me good luck, for now I am a master cooper, and live in ease and comfort. Will you allow me to offer your daughter this talisman, which I received from her grandmother ? "

The comte de Paris, much affected, grasped the honest fellow's hand, while the young princess, taking

the little box which her visitor presented to her, said, with tears in her eyes,—

“ I thank you most heartily ; this will be one of the most precious souvenirs of my friends in France that I shall carry away with me.”

On Saturday, May 15, the comte de Paris entertained a large number of friends at his mansion, 57 rue Varennes. This house had been begun during the Regency in 1721. M. de Courtonne, the King's architect, had made the plans, and had built it for the prince de Tingry, better known as the maréchal de Montmorency. Two years later it was sold—still unfinished—to M. de Matignon, comte de Thorigny. During the 18th century, it belonged successively to the duc de Valentinois, to the prince of Monaco, and then to an Englishman, Mr. Crawford.

After the Revolution, prince Talleyrand, then minister of foreign affairs, bought the house, and gave some grand *fêtes* there ; Napoleon I. induced his minister to give it up to him ; Talleyrand then bought a house in the rue St. Florentin (now the property of baron Alphonse de Rothschild), and in this manner the mansion in the rue Varennes became royal property.

At the time of the duc de Berry's marriage, Louis XVIII., desiring to establish his nephew at the palais de l'Elysée, the property of Mdme. la duchesse de Bourbon, exchanged houses with this princess, who lived and died at 57 rue Varennes, and left it to her niece, S.A.R. Mdme. Adelaïde, sister of King Louis-Philippe, and she in her turn left it to H.R.H. the duc de Montpensier. In 1848, general Cavaignac, presi-

dent of the Republic, lived there until Louis Napoléon was elected to the presidency. Finally, in 1853, the duc de Galliera purchased the mansion, one of the largest and most imposing in the Faubourg St. Germain. At his death it became the property of the duchesse de Galliera ; she put the entire ground floor, and the garden, which was in fact a park, at the disposal of the comte de Paris, who made use of it every time that he went to Paris.

On the 15th of May, from nine o'clock in the evening till one the next morning, about 4,000 guests presented themselves at the Hôtel Galliera, to offer their congratulations to the princess Amélie. In the hearts of all those who cordially and respectfully shared the joy of the royal family on the occasion of this marriage, there was a deep feeling of national pride, which will be readily understood by those who know the past history of France. The House of Bourbon, whose destiny has been for so many centuries bound up in that of the nation, has retained, and always will retain, the glorious place which history has given it in the world. This was clearly shown by the presence of all the ambassadors of the foreign powers at the ceremony of May 15th. Princess Amélie was about to revive, in the midst of a friendly people, the memory of the grand country which her forefathers had rendered so powerful and so prosperous. France could certainly not have been better represented than by this princess, so remarkable for virtue and nobility. On the evening of May 15, when princess Amélie was on the point of quitting her old country, all rejoiced in the thought that, in her, Portugal would greet and welcome France.

Thanks to a wise forethought the evening passed without the slightest disorder ; and the quiet, sympathetic demeanour of the crowd which pressed round the doors, made the work of the police easy. The marquis de Beauvoir had been deputed to present the guests to the comtesse de Paris, by whose side stood the young princess Amélie, dressed simply in white tulle, radiant and charming in her grace and beauty. The comtesse de Paris received all those who had the honour of approaching her with perfect affability, while the comte de Paris, standing at a little distance, shook hands with all the guests, and had a pleasant word or a delicate compliment for each. In the other rooms were the grand duke, and the grand duchess Wladimir of Russia, the duc de Nemours, the duc d'Aumale, the prince and princess de Joinville, the duc and duchesse de Chartres, the prince and princess Czartoryski, princess Blanche de Nemours, princess Hélène, the second daughter of the comte de Paris, princess Marguérite de Chartres, and her brother prince Henri. One young man, who had the regular Bourbon type of face, and a lively, intelligent expression, was particularly noticed. He was the duc d'Orléans, and was standing near his great aunt, princess Clémentine de Saxe-Coburg, in company with one of her sons, prince Ferdinand. Almost all the members of the Diplomatic body were present, as well as the representatives of the oldest and most noble families in France, and with them was the *élite* of the world of science, literature, art and law. From a feeling of delicacy, easy to understand, no military men actually serving with the army were invited.

In one large room a buffet had been arranged sumptuously served, and decorated with a profusion of flowers and foliage. But the principal attraction was the large centre salon, where all the wedding presents were to be seen. The lace of the trousseau was especially admired; the comte de Paris had insisted that it should all be bought in France, and it came from the establishment of Messrs. Lefébure. A triumph of the silversmith's art, which excited universal attention, was M. Froment-Meurice's "Nef de la ville de Paris" in silver, supported by a siren; this had been subscribed for in Paris only. Towards one o'clock in the morning supper was served for eighty; and, besides the princes of the House of Orléans, there were present the grand duke and grand duchess Wladimir of Russia, the comte d'Azevedo, chief secretary of the Portuguese Legation, and some of the royal household. At the end of supper the duc de Chartres proposed the following toast, "With my brother's permission, I desire, as the nearest relative of the future duchesse de Bragance, to propose her health, and to make myself the interpreter of all the good wishes and the regrets of all the French present here to-night."

Certainly no one was better fitted than "Robert le Fort" to interpret to princess Amélie the sentiments of monarchical France.

The Roman Catholics of Twickenham, where princess Amélie was born, had sent to the comte de Paris an address, in which they offered their congratulations, and gave expression to the grateful recollections which they retained of the visit of the royal

family to their town. Before leaving for Lisbon, the comte de Paris wrote the following letter to M. Ryan, the Roman Catholic priest at Twickenham :—

“ *May 17th, 1886.*

“ REV. FATHER,

“ I have received an address of congratulation on the occasion of my daughter's marriage to the prince royal of Portugal, signed by all the most eminent members of the Roman Catholic community at Twickenham. The comtesse de Paris and I are very grateful for this proof of sympathy on the part of the inhabitants of the town in which we spent the first six years of our married life, and where our eldest children were born. Our daughter, Amélie, has not forgotten that she belongs by birth to Twickenham, and she is happy in the thought that she is not forgotten there, especially by our Roman Catholic brethren. I trust that your wishes for her happiness and prosperity will call down on her in her new country the blessing of God. Be good enough to transmit our best thanks to all those who have signed the address, and believe me,

“ Yours sincerely,

“ PHILIPPE COMTE DE PARIS.”

On Monday, May 17th, at six o'clock in the evening, a special train, composed of several wagon-salons started from the Orléans station conveying to Lisbon the comte and comtesse de Paris, princess Amélie, her brother the duc d'Orléans, her sister, princess Hélène, the duc de Chartres, the duc d'Aumale, the princess de

Joinville, princess Clémentine of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and her son prince Ferdinand.

The comte de Paris was accompanied by one of his oldest adherents, the marquis de Beauvoir, who combines with a devotion which, as has been seen, is traditional in his family, a great facility for work, and qualities which justify the friendship shown him by the comte de Paris from his childhood.

When Marshal Macmahon was president, the marquis de Beauvoir had been under-secretary in the cabinet of that wonderful foreign minister and keen diplomatist, the duc Decazes, who rendered such signal services to France, and whose loss is daily felt by the royalist party. The comte de Paris thoroughly appreciates the services of the marquis de Beauvoir, whose great activity, charming sympathetic manner and affability, have made him a universal favourite. He is emphatically a man of action ; for the last twenty years he has always been ready to throw himself into the breach ; he is one of the most faithful and devoted servants of the prince, and is untiring in a cause for which he would be ready to give his life.

With him were the comte d'Haussonville, Captain Morhain, M. Camille Dupuy (private secretary to Monseigneur), Dr. Guéneau de Mussy, the marquis de Bouillé, in attendance on the duc de Chartres ; the vicomte de Chazelle, the duc d'Aumale, the comtesse de Carral and her son, the comte de Barral, the princess de Joinville ; finally M. Froment, tutor to the duc d'Orleans, vicomtesse de Butler, maid of honour to the comtesse de Paris, and Mdme Levavasseur, governess to the princess. There were only two people

invited by the prince—the duc de Noailles and the duc de la Trémoille. The comte de Paris, having expressed a wish that none but his own family should attend at the station of the Orléans line, some old friends had requested permission to come and bid farewell to princess Amélie, and they had been received in the rue Varennes between the hours of one and three.

At six o'clock punctually the train left the station. Many faithful friends came to greet the royal party and present bouquets to princess Amélie at all the principal stations where they stopped, and the line between Paris and the Spanish frontier was crowded.

The contemplated marriage had made a great stir throughout France, and every one, peasant and mechanic alike, was anxious to see the comte de Paris and the young princess. The illustrated papers containing her portrait were eagerly bought up by the crowd. At Blois, where the train did not stop, but only slackened speed, a crowd of five or six hundred people pressed round the platform, and the same sympathetic interest was shown at Tours, Poitiers, and Bordeaux.

In the morning they arrived at Irun on the Spanish frontier, where the comte de Paris received a telegram informing him that the Queen Regent of Spain had just given birth to a son, King Alphonse XIII. The travellers breakfasted at Miranda and dined at Medina, the meals having been ordered by the King of Portugal. Before arriving at Salamanca a curious incident occurred : the train was obliged to stop, several thousands of people having placed themselves on the

line, in order actually to see and greet the illustrious representatives of the dynasty which gave the Bourbons to Spain. In the middle of the night the students of Salamanca serenaded the princess. At 9.30 in the morning the train entered the kingdom of Portugal at the station of Villar-Formoso. It was pouring in torrents, but the rain seemed to make no difference to the crowd, and the Portuguese evidently believed in the truth of the saying, "Happy the bride that the rain rains on." If this be so the weather was certainly a good augury! The fireworks, which were going on all night in spite of the downpour, the serenades, the joyful cheers of the people, the universal eagerness to welcome the travellers, made a deep impression on princess Amélie, and seemed to show that she had won the hearts of the Portuguese, even before they knew her. How will this affection increase when they shall have discovered the many moral and intellectual qualities which make the eldest daughter of the comte de Paris one of the most accomplished princesses of our day!

Formerly, court etiquette prescribed that on the frontier of her future husband's dominions the princess should be clothed in entirely new garments, and should not wear a single thing which came from her own country. This custom was rigorously observed in the case of Marie-Thérèse when she married Louis XIV., also when Marie Leczinska and Marie Antoinette married Louis XV. and Louis XVI. Nowadays this custom has been abandoned. However, at Santa-Comba-Daõ, princess Amélie put on an entirely new toilette of white and blue, the Portuguese colours.

When the train stopped, the princess was at the door of the carriage, and no sooner had she caught sight of her *fiancé* than she jumped down, regardless of etiquette, and embraced the duc de Bragance before the whole crowd. This simplicity and charming *naïveté* delighted the spectators; handkerchiefs and fans were waved, and all along the route there was but one cry, "Long live the prince and princess!" At every station deputations succeeded one another, the ovation was renewed, and the same throng, the same delirious enthusiasm, the same wealth of flowers at Coïmbre, Pombal, Santarem, Alhandra and Sacurin. At Pampilhosa three little girls brought some flowers for the princess and strewed her path with roses. One after another they were lifted into the carriage, and the princess insisted on thanking each one and kissing her on the forehead. She had a gracious word for every one who came near her. At Coïmbre, a woman of the lower classes, holding a child on her shoulder, said to it as the princess was getting into the train, "Look at our beautiful princess, kiss your hand to her." The child obeyed, whereupon princess Amélie quitting her *fiancé's* arm, went up to the railing and kissed the little Portuguese "menino" on both cheeks. The mother wept with pride and pleasure, and the enthusiastic cheers of the crowd were redoubled.

At last, at 5.15, the train entered the station at Lisbon; the walls were decked with flowers and foliage, and with the escutcheons of Bourbon and Bragance, the fleurs-de-lis of France alternating with the towers of Bragance, and the French tricolour

with the white and blue flag of Portugal. The King and Queen of Portugal, the duke of Aosta, brother of the Queen, the court, and the diplomatic body were awaiting the arrival of the French royal family.

Immediately on leaving the train, princess Amélie hastened to kiss the hand of Queen Maria-Pia, who clasped her in her arms, while affectionate greetings were exchanged between the King, the comte de Paris and the princes. As soon as the various presentations had been made, the royal party quitted the station. The inhabitants of Lisbon are considered cold and emotionless, but their reserve soon melted at the sight of the princess Amélie's charming face. Her reputation for grace and beauty had preceded her to Portugal, but the reality so far surpassed the expectations of the Portuguese, that, in spite of their ordinary phlegmatic temperament, they were carried away into the most unexpected demonstrations. Lisbon has a population of about 250,000, and is built like an amphitheatre on several hills overlooking the right bank of the Tagus. It stretches for about 10 kilomètres ($6\frac{1}{4}$ miles) along the bay at the mouth of the river, which on this occasion was full of ships dressed with flags. On either side of the Tagus large buildings, palaces, churches and thousands of villas were all hung with flags and wreaths of flowers, and over all this verdure and these roses spread the azure blue of the sky, while the sun bathed the landscape in floods of golden light.

The royal procession left the station, the horses going at a walk through the enormous crowd which occupied every available space—trees, buildings, roofs,

windows—shouting “Long live the King! Long live the princess!”

Princess Amélie had taken her place by the side of Queen Maria-Pia, in an open carriage drawn by four horses ; and opposite them were the duc de Bragance and the comte de Paris. In the second carriage, also drawn by four horses, were the comtesse de Paris, the princess de Joinville, the duke of Aosta, and the King dom Luiz. A detachment of cavalry closed the procession. As it passed, all hats were raised, and the people gazed with eager and respectful curiosity on the future princess royal, while countless bouquets were thrown from the windows. At last, at seven o'clock, they arrived at the palace des Necessidades, which had been prepared for the members of the Orléans family. From this palace and its magnificent gardens lovely views are to be obtained over the Tagus and the bay.

The royal party were now able to enjoy the rest so necessary after their long, fatiguing journey. The French, who had witnessed the spontaneous ovations, first of the Spaniards, and now of the Portuguese, could not help saying to themselves, with a certain pride, that Spain and Portugal, like the rest of Europe, recognized in the members of the house of Bourbon the most illustrious representatives of the French nation. King dom Luiz had sent, through his ambassador at the Holy See, a petition to the Pope that he would bestow his apostolic blessing on the bride and bridegroom, and the Sovereign Pontiff had hastened to accede to the request. Leo XIII. professes a great affection for the prince and princess,

whose piety is known to him, and he rejoices at an alliance which cannot fail to promote the happiness of Portugal.

Princess Amélie, brought up by a mother whose faith is very real, has justified the hopes of the Holy Father. She had declared her intention of communicating at the nuptial mass, although the ceremony would be very lengthy. She contemplated with religious earnestness the duties imposed on her by her new life, and she passed the intervening time before the next day's solemnity in a sort of retreat. Princess Amélie has none of that frivolity so common among girls, who look upon marriage merely as a means of escape from maternal tutelage; she has the same serious reflective turn of mind as her great-grandmother Marie-Amélie, and, having been the most obedient of daughters, she will be a wife devoted to her duties, and a princess-royal worthy indeed of her station.

The comte and comtesse de Paris granted very few audiences. They wanted to spend with the child from whom they were so soon to be separated, all the time not monopolized by the exigencies of etiquette; the French, as well as the Portuguese, yielded respectfully to this very natural desire on their part.

During the two days preceding the wedding—May 20th and 21st—there was a reception of intimate friends at the palace. All the leading people in society, in the army, in the Government, and in the world of art and literature went to inscribe their names at the palais des Necessidades.

Saturday, May 22, was a day such as one only sees

in the south of Europe ; a respectful, enthusiastic crowd thronged the streets, determined to witness so splendid a ceremony, and one that is seldom granted to them to enjoy. From the earliest dawn a dense throng filled the streets through which the procession would pass on its way to the Church of St. Justa et Rufina, where the marriage was to be celebrated at one o'clock. This church, better known as the Church of San Domingo, is situated at the corner of the grand place du Rocio, with its statue of King Pedro. Like all the other buildings in Lisbon, it was constructed after the terrible earthquake of 1775, which entirely destroyed the town ; tradition affirms that the altar of black and white marble, which is still in the church, is all that remains of the old building.

All the squares and principal streets of Lisbon are decorated with Venetian masts, covered with bunting, adorned with flags, and surmounted by the royal crown. Nothing could be richer or warmer in colouring than the interior of the church, with the many coloured silks and velvets, and all the gold lace and embroideries which sparkle in the light of hundreds of glass candelabra. At the end rises the altar, with its high twisted pillars, on the steps of which are standing the bishops in their splendid vestments. To the left is the royal canopy, with its hangings of rose-coloured velvet, covered with golden fleurs-de-lis, and caught up on two tall columns on which are placed globes, in memory of the discovery of the Indies by the Portuguese. To the right is the stand prepared for the Orléans princes, covered with blue velvet, also emblazoned with gold fleurs-de-lis,

and surmounted by the royal crown. Between these two erections, in the centre of the choir, are the chairs and prie-dieu of blue velvet for the bride and bridegroom during the nuptial mass. A ducal crown, supported by two angels, and decorated with the torches of Hymen, is hung from the roof in the shape of a baldaquin over the heads of the duc de Bragance and princess Amélie. To the left are the ladies belonging to the court and the diplomatic body, all in evening dress of light blue silk, and wearing white lace mantillas, fastened to the hair with high tortoiseshell combs. Everywhere there glitters the gold of different uniforms ; civil officials in embroidered coats, chamberlains with their long ivory wands, generals and officers, helmet in hand, in black uniform with gold or red stripes according to their rank ; Italian officers in their short blue and white tunic, Spanish naval officers with their scarlet facings, officers of the Italian marine with the blue sash across the shoulder, and many others.

All these various uniforms have a glorious effect amongst the palms and foliage with which the church is decorated.

At one o'clock the booming of a cannon is heard in the distance ; the royal procession has started from the palace d'Ajuda. Then there arrive in succession the comtesse de Ficalho, maid of honour to the Queen, the ambassador of Spain with the two sons of the duke de Fernan-Nunez, the marquis de Valada in his magnificent gilded coach, ornamented with pictures in the style of the old vernis Martin ; the harness of all these equipages is covered with chased steel, and all

the servants, without exception, wear wigs with powdered curls.

The clocks strike two, the trumpets sound, the troops bring their muskets to the ground with a crash, and the royal procession approaches. Soon the red and white pennons of the advanced guard of lancers are seen, and all the cavalry, their black plumes floating from their red caps, trot past, and take up their position in a street close to the church. Next appears a body of royal outriders in the livery of Bragance, scarlet, with stripes of many-coloured silks, and cherry-coloured velvet stamped with pomegranates. They place themselves in front of the church, and salute by raising their whips.

After them arrive horsemen in the ancient uniform of the 16th century; these are the kings-at-arms of Bragance. Their black velvet hats *de la St. Herrmandade* are surmounted by tufts of blue and white feathers; their tabards of cherry silk embroidered with gold are loaded with seven enormous silver-gilt towers, and with a large gold collar bearing the royal arms. They wear black silk stockings; their saddles are those of the last century, the trappings are of green velvet striped with gold, the horses' manes are plaited with ribands, and on their heads are bunches of ostrich plumes.

After them arrive some splendid gilded carriages, perfect marvels, each drawn by ten mules, ridden by postillions. These heavy coaches, which are loaded with gilt ornamentation, and covered with paintings, are hung on wide straps of red leather, and the colossal wheels measure about two *mètres* in diameter.

The coaches date from the 17th and 18th centuries, and have been used by dom João V., dom Francisco, dom José I., dom Pédro II., and Alphonso VI.

From these carriages descend the comtesse de Bertandos, in blue and white satin, with a tablier embroidered with white beads; the marquise de Funchal, "Camareira Mór" of the Queen; the aide-de-camp to the duke of Aosta, dom Augusto, the King's brother; the duke of Aosta in Italian uniform; prince George of Wales in the British naval uniform, with the riband of the Christ; the duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha in the Austrian hussar uniform with the red shako and high aigrette, and the blue tunic with gold cord on the shoulder.

All stop at the entrance to the church. The band of the Royal Engineers plays the Royal March. An enormous gilded coach, drawn by eight dappled-grey horses, now advances at a slow trot, the grooms leading the horses; this coach, which is surmounted by eight royal crowns, and decorated with gilt palms, is called the "Coach of the Crown," and was built by order of dom João V. for the wedding of his son. In this carriage are the duc de Bragance, in the uniform of a captain in the lancers, the King dom Luiz in that of a general of division, and the Queen Maria-Pia in a splendid costume copied from a picture of Rubens, "The Triumph of Marie de Médicis." The dress is of sky blue velvet, embroidered in the style of Louis XIII., and trimmed with rows of pearls and sheaves of diamonds. The royal mantle, fastened at the shoulders, is of royal blue velvet, embroidered round the bottom with wreaths of light flowers. The

fleurs-de-lis of France are here replaced only by pomegranate flowers in white silk, which are scattered all over the blue ground. A diadem of diamonds of the first water, and of wonderful purity, crowns her head with its beautiful fair hair, and her arms are covered with long gloves, embroidered at the wrist with her monogram, M. P., and the royal crown in colours.

Their majesties, having been received on their arrival by all the great dignitaries of the Crown and the foreign princes, move towards the royal throne, the Camarera Mayor bearing the Queen's long train, and six of the marquises of the oldest Portuguese families supporting a canopy of yellow silk embroidered with gold over their heads, while the Bragance March is played on the organ. The cardinal-patriarch, accompanied by all his clergy with their satin parasols, their gold crosses, and their large feather fans, receives their majesties and conducts them to their places through a double line of the royal guard, who stand immovable, bareheaded, and presenting arms. At 2.15 the bells again peal out. A detachment of cavalry, preceded by the "batidores," advances at a sharp trot through the place Rocio. They are the chasseurs with their black plumes, their cartridge-pouches and shoulder-belts of white leather, and their sabres of Toledo steel, and they form the advanced guard of the procession of the Orléans princes. This cortége consists also of superb royal gala carriages, and out of them step the duc de la Trémoille, the duc de Noailles, the comte d'Haussonville, the marquis de Beauvoir, the marquise de Rio-

Mayor, maid of honour to the Queen ; the comte de Ficalho, dom Alphonso, brother of the duc de Bragance ; the princess de Joinville, in a dress of black jet and violet silk, wearing across her shoulder the blue and white ribands of the Spanish order of Marie-Louise ; princesse Hélène, looking lovely and graceful in her rose-coloured dress, the corsage trimmed with pearls, and wearing the rose and white riband of the Portuguese order of Isabella ; the duc d'Aumale and the duc de Chartres, both wearing the dark blue riband of the Portuguese military order of la Tour et de l'Epée ; finally, the duc d'Orléans, with the cordon of the Conception. The last coach arrives—the coach of dom Fernando, which was built at Rome and presented to King dom João by Pope Clement XI. From this descends the royal bride in her dress of white silk, and covered with a lace veil. In her hand she carries the book of Hours, presented to her by the ladies of the Seine-Inférieure, bound in white ivory and enamelled with the arms of France and Bragance.

Princess Amélie is accompanied by her father and mother, the comte de Paris wearing the red and green riband of the united orders of Portugal ; the comtesse de Paris attired in an extremely elegant toilette of soft pink and golden velours frappé, the train of Genoa velvet, the panels also of velvet of a smaller pattern, the front of the dress sparkling with white beads. The corsage is also of velvet and cut low. Ornaments : diadem, earrings, and rivière of sapphires and diamonds of priceless value. Order : the Portuguese order of Isabella. After a moment's halt this second

procession enters the church. The duc de Bragance, preceded by the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, and the Captain of the Royal Guard, goes to meet his august bride, who now enters the church on her father's arm, her train borne by Mlle. Levavasseur. The comtesse de Paris takes the arm of the prince royal. The bride and bridegroom having taken their places at their prie-dieu, the marriage ceremony begins. The cardinal-patriarch gives a touching address to the royal couple on the duties imposed on them by their exalted position. The spectacle of the church, crowded with rich costumes and brilliant uniforms, and lighted by 166 candelabra, is indeed splendid and imposing. Most of the bishops in the kingdom have come to Lisbon and are present in their pontifical vestments. The nuptial benediction is preceded by a touching ceremony. At the invitation of the cardinal-patriarch the duc de Bragance advances to the throne on which the King and Queen are sitting, kisses their hands, and, kneeling before them, demands their consent to his marriage. Princess Amélie, much affected, demands in her turn, and in the same manner, the consent of her parents, who embrace her effusively. The cardinal archbishop then descends the steps of the altar, and, taking the wedding-rings presented to him on a golden salver by a page in blue velvet, he gives them to the bride and bridegroom and pronounces the blessing.

While the witnesses were signing the register the duke and duchess de Bragance took their places beside the King and Queen. The train of princess Amélie of France is no longer borne by Mlle. Levavasseur,

but by one of her maids of honour. It was an affecting moment for all the French present, when their princess thus passed into her new family. The *Te Deum* now peals through the church, and the ceremony is over.

The two processions, now formed into one, begin to leave the church: it is 4.15, the bells are ringing, cannons are fired in the distance on the place du Commerce. The ships anchored in the Tagus seem enveloped in smoke and flames, and at the same time, from a platform raised in the centre of the place du Rocio, there bursts a perfect blaze of fireworks, which was a curious sight in broad daylight. The flying rockets frighten the mules and horses in the coaches, who prance about till it becomes difficult to hold them. At 4.30 the Royal March, which has been played on the organ in the church, is taken up by the bands outside.

The new duchess de Bragance, pale with emotion, appears leaning on her husband's arm; cheers burst forth on every side; the coach of dom Fernando is drawn up; the duc de Bragance mounts first and gives his hand to help his bride up the three high steps of the coach, and they move slowly off. Their respective parents follow in their state carriages and are loudly cheered by the crowd. The procession (brought up by the cavalry, their pennons fluttering in the wind, beating the old March of the Portuguese cavaliers on their kettledrums draped with red), greeted by the joyful cheers of the crowd and the blazing fireworks, traverses the place du Rocio, and passing along the rue de l'Or, arrives at the place du Commerce. Soon the

procession leaves Lisbon, and passes along the quay to the palace of Belem, which is to be the residence of the newly-married pair.

Everywhere the crowd throngs the route which the procession takes, and rends the air with joyful shouts. From the pavilions, constructed at various distances, a flourish of trumpets salutes the procession, and from a platform erected on the quai di Sodré, by the statue of the duc de Terceira, a perfect shower of flowers rains down on the coach of the new duchess of Bragance. The steamers, merchant ships and despatch boats are crowded with thousands of spectators. It is a splendid scene. The houses of Lisbon, with their tiled façades shining in the sun, rise in terraces on the hill-sides; in the distance are the domes of the Gothic cathedral di la Se, or basilique Santa Maria; to the right rise the red walls of the Necessidades, and the sombre foliage of the grand cemetery, which reminds one of the dark cypresses of the Stamboul necropolis.

Saluted on all sides by salvoes of artillery, the cortége skirts the Tagus, passing through the faubourgs of Alcantara and Junqueira, and at six o'clock arrives at the palace of Belem. This palace, built towards the middle of the 18th century, consists only of one storey, raised over a basement, and is well suited for a newly-married couple. From the terraces, which rise straight from the Tagus, there is a splendid view over the vast ocean, the tower of Belem, and the church of San Jeronymo, built to commemorate the discovery of the Indies, and containing the tombs of Vasco de Gama and of Camoëns.

The procession ascends a steep road between two high red walls, and stops in front of the palace, which is built with an Italian roof of flat, firmly cemented tiles. The bride and bridegroom and their august parents enter the hall (the oldest part of the palace, built by Jean V.), and from thence proceed to their own apartments.

The princess, having changed her toilette, went with the duc de Bragance to dine with her father-in-law, the King dom Luiz, at the palace of Ajuda. This palace, imposing from its very size, is built on an amphitheatre above Belem. There princess Amélie received the wedding presents given her by her new family.

They consisted of—

A diamond diadem, from the King dom Luiz—a splendid gift, composed of several rows of diamonds, from which hang two enormous pearls.

A diamond necklace, in the same style as the diadem, from Queen Maria-Pia.

An opera glass, with two rows of diamonds, and the monogram in brilliants, from prince Alphonso.

A magnificent bracelet of brilliants, from the duke of Aosta.

A diamond eagle, from prince dom Alphonso.

A necklace of sapphires and brilliants, from the King and Queen of Italy.

A ring of sapphires and brilliants, from princess Clotilde Bonaparte.

A diamond aigrette, from the prince de Carignan.

The dinner, which was served at eight o'clock, was only a family repast. At midnight the duke and

duchess took leave of their parents and returned to their palace, which was brilliantly lit up by the glare of the electric globes placed along the banks of the Tagus. The next day, the 23rd, at two o'clock, the duke and duchess received at Belem the grand dignitaries of state, the officers of the palace and the high functionaries. The grace and affability of the duchess produced an excellent impression on all. "Although I have now become a Portuguese princess," said she, "I shall never forget my own country, and shall always remain French at heart." In the palace gardens the national hymn was played, and in the evening, at the theatre of San Carlos, there was a gala performance, consisting of two acts out of *Semiramis*, two acts of *Aïda*, and a ballet. Towards one o'clock in the morning the court retired, and, as Princess Amélie rose to leave, she was made the object of a hearty and spontaneous ovation. Much moved by these marks of the good feeling of her new country, the princess bowed repeatedly, and all the spectators, standing up, shouted, "Long live the King! Long live the Orléans princes!"

On May 24th there was a grand afternoon reception at the Ajuda palace, where their Majesties received the congratulations of the diplomatic body and the homage of the various bodies in the state, the Municipal Council of Lisbon, the court and the aristocracy. On the 25th the King held a grand review of troops of all arms, including the students of the Military School. The King, followed by a brilliant staff, and accompanied by the duc de Bragance, prince Amadéus of Italy, and prince George of Wales,

passed down the lines ; the King and Queen, the duke and duchess of Bragance, the comte and comtesse de Paris, the duc de Chartres were received with ringing cheers ; after the march past, the enthusiasm became frantic, and found vent on all sides in repeated shouts of " Long live princess Amélie ! " At every window handkerchiefs were waved and people shouted madly, and each bow of the princess was the signal for renewed outbursts of cheers. It was a scene never to be forgotten, especially by the young and charming princess, who had been able, in a few days, to win the hearts of all classes in Portugal.

In the evening there was an equally grand display in the Avenue de la Liberté, where there were fairy-like illuminations and splendid fireworks. Again, as in the morning, the enthusiasm of the crowd knew no bounds, and the duke and duchess of Bragance and the Orléans princes received a real ovation. How could the Portuguese fail to love the young princess, whose first thought on arriving in her new country was to establish quite a series of charitable works ? It was she who organized a society " for the protection of the interests of the working classes."

A week after the marriage of the princess, the first charitable institution was inaugurated under the name of the " Institut de la princess Amélie." This constant care for the poor, this inexhaustible charity, rendered doubly valuable by the graceful manner in which it was exercised, suffices to explain the unheard-of enthusiasm of the reception accorded by the people to princess Amélie.

On the 26th there were first some races, and in the

evening a grand ball was given at the Ajuda palace. At eleven o'clock the doors leading to the private apartments were thrown open ; the band played the national anthem, and the King, the Queen, the duke and duchess of Bragance, the princes and princesses of the House of France entered ; the guests, who had ranged themselves in two lines, bowing low as they passed.

The ball was opened in the principal gallery leading to the throne room. Queen Maria-Pia, who is always extremely elegant, was surrounded by ladies in those resplendent toilettes, which make the court of Portugal one of the most brilliant in Europe. The ball was kept up till four o'clock in the morning. Several times the King left the gallery reserved for the chief guests and dignitaries of the kingdom and mingled with the crowd of dancers.

His Majesty is much beloved on account of his affability, and the Portuguese are charmed by the ease with which he allows himself to be approached. The King is forty-nine years of age ; he is fair, pale, and his eyes have a soft, sweet expression. He is a strictly constitutional monarch ; he is passionately devoted to art, plays on nearly every instrument, paints with great taste, and ranks amongst the first literary men in Portugal. He has translated two plays of Shakespeare, *Othello* and *Hamlet*, with great accuracy and elegance ; he is in touch with all that concerns French dramatic literature, and corresponds with one of our chief dramatists, Victorien Sardou.

Dom Luiz I. began to reign in 1861, having succeeded his brother dom Pedro V., who was struck

down suddenly by yellow fever. His genial cordiality forms a striking contrast to the melancholy of dom Pedro. Having been destined from his childhood to a sailor's life, the King received an education to which he owes that pleasant manner which charms his people.

While his ministers were searching for a wife for him, so that his marriage might assure the future of the monarchy, and had already entered into negotiations with Austria, dom Luiz made his own choice, and selected Maria-Pia, last remaining daughter of Victor-Emmanuel, King of Italy. Maria-Pia, a descendant of one of the oldest and most noble royal families in Europe, is extremely distinguished, and never fails to charm those whom she desires to please. In spite of having rather an imperious expression, she is very fascinating, and no woman could look more royal or more imposing than she does. She is a devoted mother, and gave her sons an excellent education, inspiring them with grand and noble thoughts and ideas. One day, when as children they were bathing in the sea at Mexilhoeiro, near Cascaes, they lost their footing and were in danger of drowning; the Queen did not hesitate a second, but threw herself into the water and had the joy of saving both her children.

When the ball was drawing to a close, the national air, played by the band, announced the departure of the royal family, who, on leaving the room, again passed through the ranks of respectful guests.

The fêtes in honour of princess Amélie's marriage were brought to a close on the 27th by a grand bull-

fight, and fireworks on the Tagus. In Portugal the bull-fights are not so cruel as in Spain. Neither bull nor man runs any great danger; the "toréador" does not kill the bull, whose head is covered with pads of cotton wool firmly fixed to the points of his horns; he only tries to stick in the animal's skin a certain number of "banderillas." If the bull can defend himself against six attacks, and avoid the "banderillas," he is declared the conqueror. Thus the Portuguese "corrida" is merely an exercise of skill. The circus of the "Campo de Santa Anna" is capable of containing 20,000 spectators, and it was crowded; for, without being cruel, a "corrida" excites the Portuguese as much as a bull-fight does the Spaniards.

On the 28th some races took place in the hippodrome of Belem, and in the evening a gala representation at the Dona Maria theatre, and illuminations in the Tapada, a large wood near the Ajuda palace. On the 29th there was a large fair held in the Zoological Garden, and a soirée was given by the Portuguese "Real Gymnasio Club."

The provinces endeavoured to rival the capital: everywhere, but especially at Oporto, splendid fêtes took place, for the whole of Portugal was eager to celebrate, as brilliantly as possible, the union of the heir to the throne with the daughter of the head of the House of France.

The comte and comtesse de Paris and the members of their family left Lisbon May 27th, and, in accordance with the express wish of the comte de Paris, their departure was not attended by any ceremonial. At the same time that princess Amélie was married at Lisbon,

the church of Eu was crowded with people who came to be present at a mass, performed at the request of the comte de Paris, by M. l'abbé Milliard, honorary vicar-general, and priest at Bon Secours. All the household of the comte de Paris, the servants, keepers, and employés on the estate were present in holiday attire, headed by the steward, M. Gilléot.

At the close of the service the following telegram was sent to the duchess of Bragance, as a token of the respectful affection felt for her by all the inhabitants of the town of Eu :—

“ We desire to present to your Royal Highness, in the name of all lately assembled at church to pray for the duke and duchess of Bragance, the assurance of our respectful homage, of our best wishes, and of the faithful recollection which we shall ever cherish of you.

“(Signed) ESTANCELIN, LECOMTE, BARON DE CHAUVENET, DE GROMARD, DUMESNIL - ADELÉE, VARRALS.”

M. Estancelin received the following telegram in reply :—

“ *Palace of Belem, 3.15.*

“ The duke of Bragance and I thank you for your affectionate sympathy, and beg you to convey our gratitude to all those who have remembered me. My thoughts are continually with those whom I shall never forget.

“ AMÉLIE, DUCHESSE DE BRAGANCE.”

The maritime population of Tréport also desired to give a proof of their affection and gratitude for the numerous benefits which they had received during so many years. In conformity with this wish, the priest at Tréport celebrated a solemn mass in the church on Saturday, May 22nd, the wedding-day of the young princess.

Some of the ladies of the department des Ardennes had presented a fan to Her Royal Highness on the occasion of her marriage. This fan, not having been given to the princess before her departure, was sent to her through the Portuguese ambassador. The princess addressed the following letter to the baronne de Montagnac :—

“ MADAME,—

“ I desire to express my gratitude to you, and through you to all the ladies of the Ardennes, who joined together to give me a proof of their sympathy on the occasion of my marriage.

“ The fan, which I have just received, is a perfect *chef-d'œuvre* ; it will be a precious reminder to me of the country which I have left, but shall never forget, and of the numerous friends of my family whose affection and good wishes have followed me to my new home.

“ I am deeply touched by the thought which prompted this gift, and I beg you to convey my gratitude to Mme. la baronne Evain, Mme. la baronne de Ladoucette, and to all the ladies.

“ I was sure that you would sympathize with us in

the trials which we have been going through ; they are indeed grievous, but we turn with trust and confidence to the future.

“ I beg, Madame, to remain

“ Your affectionate

“ AMÉLIE, DUCHESSE DE BRAGANCE.

“ Lisbonne, *August* 15, 1886.”



S.A.R. LA PRINCESSE AMÉLIE
DUCHESSE DE BRAGANÇE
1885

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CHAPTER VIII.

JUNE—DECEMBER, 1886.

Return of the comte and comtesse de Paris to Eu.—Government decides to demand from the Chambers the expulsion of the heads of those families which have reigned in France.—Letter from the comte de Paris to an editor in Philadelphia.—Conversation with M. de Blowitz, the *Times* correspondent.—Telegram of sympathy from the American officers to the comte de Paris (June, 1886).—The bill of exile is discussed and carried in the Chamber and Senate.—Measures taken by Government at Eu and at Tréport.—Last receptions at Eu.—Dangerous illness of princess Louise at Eu.—Touching farewells, June 24th, 1886.—Departure of the comte de Paris and the duc d'Orléans.—Immense crowd and deep sorrow of inhabitants at Eu and Tréport.—The prince embarks on board the *Victoria*, and salutes the tricolor flag.—Arrival at Dover.—The comtesse de Paris returns the same night to princess Louise.—Protest of the comte de Paris.—Instruction of the comte de Paris to the monarchists in France.—Conclusion.

WHILE the comte de Paris was at Lisbon witnessing the marriage of his eldest daughter, the republicans in Paris, rendered quite desperate, demanded from the ministry the expulsion of the Orléans princes from France. Why all this fuss and clamour? Because, on the occasion of princess Amélie's wedding, the comte de Paris had held a reception of all the notabilities among the conservatives, and of many diplomats, and the eagerness of all to accept the invitation, and the respect and homage paid to the head of the house of France, exasperated the republicans. Such papers as the *Temps* wrote as follows:—"The

reception of Saturday night at the hôtel Galliera was really an official review of the whole royalist party. With an audacity and impropriety which must have taken M. de Freycinet and his colleagues by surprise, the comte de Paris invited the members of the diplomatic body—an invitation which is never issued except by the head of a state. The pretender, acting openly as king, gathered round him a regular court. He left for Spain with a whole escort of chamberlains and maids of honour; the train which he had engaged was called the *royal* train, and some of the high officials of the Orléans company thought it their duty to accompany it from Paris to the frontier, which is an honour hitherto reserved for the head of the state, or the members of foreign reigning families.

“Is France to have two governments, one at the Elysée, and the other at the hôtel Galliera? If the Republic allows this state of things to continue, we must expect soon to see foreign governments treating the comte de Paris as the second sovereign in France, a sort of heir presumptive, having a right to all royal honours.”

This article was really not worthy of a respectable journal. There is one thing that the republicans fail to grasp, viz., that the name of Philippe, comte de Paris, has a prestige throughout Europe which will never attach to that of a president of the Republic. Some *naïve* republicans are astonished to see the royal families of Europe exhibit such great deference towards the princes of the House of Bourbon, and seek an alliance with them. Do they hope that our present

rulers will ever be treated as on a par with the Hapsburgs, the Romanofs, and the other royal powers? When monarchy shall have been re-established in France her present isolation will cease. How can a conservative government think of entering into negotiations with a country sometimes in the hands of time-servers, sometimes in those of radicals? The republicans do not consider this; hence their unconcealed anger when the representatives of foreign powers went with all classes of French society to render public homage to the head of the house of France.

The strange part of it was that this infatuation should extend to the ministry, who discussed seriously the question of expulsion. But the ministers were puzzled, and differed as to the manner in which they should proceed. Were they to banish from France only the heirs to the Monarchy and to the Empire? Were they to exile all the princes? Would it be sufficient to obtain from the Chambers a law which was only to be enforced in case of certain eventualities? Such were the points discussed by the cabinet council, but without result.

M. Henri Maret, whose republican opinions are well known, and who in October 1885 was appointed deputy of Paris and of Cher, expresses himself as follows in the *Radical*, with much force and irony:—

“The expulsion of the princes is the ‘*Courrier de Lyon*’ of politics. Formerly, when public clamour had to be appeased, the ‘*Marseillaise*’ was sung, and some foreign power was attacked. Under the Gambetta-

Ferryste régime, a priest was worried and a monk was expelled. And if some poor devil dared to complain they replied, 'What! are you not ashamed of making any further opposition? It is really impossible to satisfy you! How can you doubt the true republican spirit of a government, which only three days ago won so splendid a victory over Père Barnabé, and put to flight three old fanatic women armed with miraculous rosaries.' There was nothing to say, and the complainant retired crestfallen, and felt himself the happiest of men.

"However, this string snapped from over-use. To Loyola succeeded the princes. Nowadays, each time that too many follies have been committed, and some means for recovering lost popularity is wanted, the subject of the princes is brought up. They want to cause an agitation, and they hope that on the day when they shall have thrust one of the princes out of the country (only one, for the others must be kept for use later on), applause will take the place of hisses, the populace will rejoice with unbounded enthusiasm, they will no more feel either hunger or thirst, but will deck the streets with palm branches and shout, 'All honour to those who have saved the Republic!'"

Then, drawing the natural conclusion from these words, M. Henri Maret ends thus: "The pretenders are dangerous, not because they are in the country, but because republicans govern the Republic badly. They can only return to power when the nation, alarmed by continual, suppressed, revolts, is ready to throw itself into the arms of the first comer. And it will be quite immaterial whether this first comer be at

Spa or in Batignolles. There is one much more simple way of preserving the Republic, which is to make it beloved."

How can manufacturers, farmers and merchants love a Republic which dries up the springs of commerce, agriculture and industry? How can they have confidence in deputies who waste their time in idle questions instead of discussing the budget, which every year is hurried over in a few weeks? You can only make yourself popular in a country by doing what is for the country's good. But republican ministers and deputies think only of making capital out of France, not of ruling her wisely and well.

It might be as well to notice the extraordinary want of harmony with which the Government acted in the midst of these difficulties. "In March 1886,* M. de Freycinet, president of the council, opposed the adoption of a bill for the expulsion from France of all the members of those families which had reigned in France. In the following month of May this same M. de Freycinet, after having declared a few weeks before that nothing could justify such a measure, himself proposed a bill forbidding the princes to live in France, alleging that their presence was a source of embarrassment and danger to the Republic. Nothing had happened in the meanwhile to justify such inconsistency. But the revolutionary passions of the majority had again burst forth, and this time with

* The account of this discussion in the Chambers is taken in great measure from a small pamphlet which appeared at the time in the National Library, called "*L'Expulsion des Princes.*"

such force, that the ministry, instead of offering any opposition, preferred to save their threatened existence by sacrificing the princes to the spiteful rancour and violent hatred of the radicals. The conduct of M. de Freycinet was prompted solely by this motive, and public opinion will not be deceived by the subtleties brought forward to excuse such an iniquitous proceeding.

By voting this exceptional measure, the republicans opened the door to every sort of violent and arbitrary act, and showed what the future has in store for France. By proscribing the princes, they aimed the first blow at the security of the individual ; by demanding (as M. Basley did) the confiscation of their property, they rendered inevitable the most revolutionary claims on the property and fortune of every citizen.

The republicans and the Government, which is only a puppet in their hands, have started on a dangerous descent, down which they are proceeding with fearful rapidity. To convince ourselves of this fact we have but to see how fast they have gone down hill during the last three months.

At the time of the first discussion a certain number of "precautionary measures" had been taken against the princes, as M. Béranger points out in the report which he drew up in the name of the senatorial commission appointed to scrutinize the project of expulsion.

"It is thus," he writes, "that in 1883 Government took upon itself to deprive the members of former reigning families of the posts which they filled in the army ; that the Congress of 1884 declared them ineligible for the office of president of the Republic,

that this ineligibility was confirmed by more recent laws, and extended to the Senate and to the Chamber of Deputies; and, finally, that on the 4th of March last the Chamber invited Government to take, should occasion arise, such measures as should be necessitated by the superior interests of the Republic."

On the 4th February, 1886, M. Duché, M. Crozet-Fourneyron, and some of their colleagues in the Chamber, brought in a bill to abrogate the law of 1871, which had authorized the return of the Orléans princes to France. M. Rivet, who had moved that the princes be expelled by decree of the president of the Republic, was ordered to draw up a report on the two bills. This report was presented February 27th, and the discussion began March 4th. M. Lefèvre-Pontales and M. Keller valiantly opposed the demand for the expulsion of the princes made by Messrs. Ballue, Rivet, Duché, and Clémenceau.

The president of the council, M. de Freycinet, opposed the bill in the name of the Government. He declared that Government was sufficiently strong to defend itself against any danger that might arise, and that there was no fear of its being taken by surprise.

On the one hand, he would not admit that the presence of the princes in France could be a cause of annoyance or trouble; he even denied that it could constitute a danger, "for," he added, "during the last century we have seen the extraordinary fact that the princes who have profited by the changes of Government in France, were not living at the time in the domains of the Republic."

On the other hand, M. de Freycinet pointed out to

the majority the number of really important questions which were urgently demanding his attention. He said :—

“We are at this moment going through a period which, though not perhaps a period of difficulty, is nevertheless one which requires all the attention of the authorities, for in the course of events difficulties have accumulated, which, without being actually dangerous, demand the greatest vigilance on our part. The working classes are suffering around us, trade is languishing ; we are in the midst of a social, commercial crisis which is pressing cruelly on the whole world, and on some parts of France—do you imagine that the exceptional measures which you propose will be of any use in diminishing this crisis ? ”

He ended by demanding from the Chamber the rejection of this unjustifiable measure.

Duché's bill was rejected by 345 to 195. The amendment of M. Rivet, “That, in case of certain acts or manifestations on the part of the princes, a decree of the president of the Republic could oblige any member of a family which had reigned in France to quit the territory,” was also rejected by a majority of 145. The Chamber only adopted by 353 votes to 112 the amendment moved by M. de Lanessau and supported by Government. It was as follows : “The Chamber, having confidence in the energy and vigilance of the Government, and convinced that it will take such measures against the members of those families which have reigned in France as shall be necessitated by the supreme interests of the Republic, passes to the business of the day.”

The Government, if left to itself, would certainly not have thought of showing any "energy," but in the month of May following, it was compelled by the Radicals to proceed actively against the princes. In March they had taken as a pretext for their first proposal certain words spoken in the Chamber by a member of the Right, expressing want of confidence in the Republican Government; in May their chief argument was founded on a newspaper article, which commented in its usual style on the reception held at the hôtel Galliera by the comte de Paris on the occasion of his daughter's marriage with the Crown prince of Portugal. The agitation raised on the subject of this family reception had a special object. A pretext was wanted to overthrow a ministry displeasing alike to the extreme Left and to the Opportunists. Recollecting the former utterances of M. de Freycinet, they believed that he would refuse to enforce against the princes, without any adequate motive, the measures demanded of him, especially since he had so lately desired our ambassador at Lisbon to congratulate the King of Portugal on the marriage of his son with a French Princess.

But they did not know with whom they had to deal!

On the reopening of the Chamber, May 27, the Minister of Justice brought forward, in the name of the Government, the following Bill:

"Article I.—That the Government be empowered to forbid the territory of the Republic to the members of families which have reigned in France. This prohibi-

tion to be pronounced by order of the Minister of the Interior taken in council.

“Article II.—He, who in defiance of the decree, shall be found in France, Algiers, or the colonies, shall be punished by imprisonment of from two to five years.

“At the expiration of this sentence he shall be conducted to the frontier.”

Urgency, demanded by the Ministry, having been declared, M. Basley moved an amendment “That the property of those families which have reigned in France be restored to the nation.” This was the natural consequence of the action of the Government.

Two days later the Chamber nominated the commission appointed to examine these two Bills.

Of the eleven commissioners elected, five were opposed to any law of exile; two members of the Right, comte de Mun and M. de Jolibois, and three Republicans, Messrs. Henri Maret, Anatole de la Forge and Michou. The six others, Messrs. Madier de Montjau, Camille Pelletan, Brousse, Burdeau, Tony Rèvillon and Desmons, not content with the conditional and limited Bill brought in by the Government, demanded the immediate expulsion of all the princes.

Thus the Government succeeded in satisfying no one, and from that moment it was certain that their Bill would be thrown out. It was not even discussed, and at the first meeting of the Commission of which M. Madier de Montjau had been appointed president, M. Brousse proposed, and M. Burdeau seconded, a counter scheme, which, however, did not succeed in rallying the majority.

It would take too long to describe the strange vicissitudes through which this debate passed, the various propositions submitted to the Commission, the successive concessions on the part of the Government, the persistent opposition by Radicals, the deviations from, and the additions to, the original text. It was a miserable farce, played by those who desired to retain office, and those who were trying to dispossess them.

The Government had declared its willingness to accept the amendment of M. Brousse, which limited the immediate expulsion to the heads of those families which had reigned in France, and to their direct heirs in order of primogeniture, that is to say, to the comte de Paris and his son, the duc d'Orléans, to prince Napoleon and his son, prince Victor. But the Radicals still objected. M. Maret, who had been appointed chairman, was replaced by M. Pelletan, who, on June 8th, in the name of the majority of the Commission, presented a demand for the total expulsion of all members of families which had reigned in France.

On June 8th, 1871, the law of exile had been repealed; this coincidence of dates seemed to add to the bitterness of the situation.

On June 10th, the discussion began in the Chamber and lasted two days, being marked by scenes of incredible violence, in which the Radicals gave many a proof of rabid intolerance.

June 10th and 11th, 1886, will always be sad and shameful dates in our history. The cause of Right and Justice was nobly and valiantly defended by the comte de Mun, M. Piou, M. Dugué de la Fauconnerie, M. Jolibois, and by some Republicans who were anxious

to preserve the integrity of their principles, such as M. Henri Maret, M. Anatole de la Forge, M. Frédéric Passy and M. Michou.

M. de Freycinet, President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, was the only one who supported the Bill for limited expulsion, while M. Madier de Montjau and M. Camille Pelletan argued for the necessity for total expulsion.

Every one felt the gravity of this debate, which stirred the very heart of the country, and the public tribunes were besieged by crowds eager to hear this important discussion. In the Chamber the excitement ran very high ; the deputies, eager and agitated, were all in their places, and the members of the diplomatic body followed with keen interest this struggle, in which the unrestrained passions of the Republicans asserted themselves thus violently. Before the conclusion of the general debate, M. Barodet, in the name of twenty members of the Extreme Left, read a declaration hostile to exile of any sort ; he was supported by M. Pesson, Republican deputy of Indre-et-Loire, while M. Michelin, on the contrary, declared himself a convert to exceptional measures.

The Chamber decided by 310 votes to 233 to pass to the discussion of the articles.

M. Camille Pelletan then moved that "the territory of the French Republic do remain forbidden to all members of those families which have reigned in France."

This was rejected by 314 votes to 220.

It was no longer a question of the original project of the Government, M. de Freycinet having declared

his adhesion to the counter proposal of M. Brousse, which was as follows :

Article I.—That the territory of the Republic be, and remain, closed to the heads of those families which have reigned in France, and to their direct heirs in order of primogeniture.

Article II.—That Government be authorised to forbid the territory of the Republic to the other members of those families ; such interdict to be pronounced by a decree of the President of the Republic, given in council.

Article III.—That any person, who in defiance of this law, shall be found in France, Algiers, or the colonies, be punished by imprisonment of from two to five years, and at the expiration of his sentence be conducted to the frontier.

Article IV.—That no member of any family which has reigned in France be allowed to enter the army or navy, or exercise any public function.

Article I. was passed by 315 votes to 232 ; Article II. by 316 to 219 ; Articles III. and IV. were subsequently passed by show of hands, and finally the Bill was passed in its entirety. It was 9.15 when the last vote was recorded ; the iniquity was consummated !

The next day the Conservative papers denounced this shameful Bill, and M. Edouard Hervé expressed himself as follows in the *Soleil* : “ The Law of Exile was passed yesterday by the Chamber of Deputies ; it was passed in the form insisted on by Government. The expulsion actually affects the comte de Paris and

his eldest son, prince Napoleon and his eldest son ; but Government holds its power of possible expulsion as a sort of threat over the heads of the other princes.

“ M. Madier de Montjau, President of the Commission, declared, in justification of a total expulsion, that the princes were to be exiled simply because they are princes, and that if they were deprived of their princely rank, there would be no cause to proceed against them. Yesterday, M. de Freycinet, in endeavouring to justify partial expulsion, did not accuse the comte de Paris of any criminal, felonious, or seditious act. He merely said that since the death of the comte de Chambord and the prince Imperial, the comte de Paris was the only dangerous rival of the Republic. He showed how the opposition was grouping itself round the head of the House of Orléans, and was growing each day in strength and confidence ; he described the country as becoming accustomed to the sight of two rival Governments, the comte de Paris and the Republic, and declared that the Ambassadors themselves, the representatives of the Foreign Powers, visited alternately these two Governments. He concluded by saying that this state of things was intolerable, and that if one of the Governments was to live in peace, the other must quit France.

“ We do not thank M. de Freycinet for his Bill of Exile, but we do thank him for this speech, for never was more splendid homage done to the cause which we defend.

“ It is indeed true, as the President of the Council

stated, that two Governments are face to face ; one directs the army, the administration, the police and the politics of the country, disposes of offices, and administers justice. The other Government has nothing but moral force to oppose to all this actual force ; it can only appeal to public opinion by means of the Press, by meetings and by elections. This second Government has, however, made such progress in three years, that the other Government, with all its material force, feels its existence threatened and says : ‘ I can stand it no longer, I cannot allow this rival power to go on increasing, it already alarms me, soon it will checkmate me ! ’ ”.

“ The Chamber listened, attentive and surprised, understanding that something important was going on ; and the noisy agitation, of which it gives us only too many specimens, was for the moment silenced. In the midst of a profound stillness the clear little voice of M. de Freycinet slowly let fall words which will never be forgotten. Without wishing it, but acting under the pressure of a self-imposed necessity, he repeated in terms less solemn and less eloquent, but not less clear and significant, the celebrated speech of M. Berryer, declaring that the head of the most ancient and illustrious House in the world, the descendant, the heir, the representative of those princes, soldiers and politicians who have defended, enlarged and amplified the national territory, could be in France nothing if not the head of the French. Apart from the incidents which marked it, and to which we shall presently refer, apart from the scene of

tumult with which it closed, the sitting of yesterday may be summed up in these words: 'Yesterday, June 11th, 1886, M. de Saulas de Freycinet, President of the Council of the French Republic, proclaimed Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, comte de Paris, to be King of France.'"

At the same time there appeared in the *Times* the following article, in which the correspondent, M. de Blowitz, describes an interview which he had the honour of having with the comte de Paris at Eu :—

"I have just returned from Eu, where I had the honour of being received by the comte de Paris. I was not impelled thither by mere curiosity, nor was it even as a journalist that I had asked the prince's leave to visit him. At a moment when, in the name of a system of liberty, a tyrannical act is about to be accomplished, it seemed to me a duty to place on record a picture of the princely family, ready to start for exile, to correct some of the mistakes which have been propagated, and to show how elevated minds face the blows of adversity and of persecution.

"Passing last night at Tréport, I found its population of honest fishermen aghast at the threat of expulsion levelled against the family of the comte de Paris. As soon as it was known that I came from Paris, and intended to go to Eu, I was surrounded and questioned as to whether the Bill would really be adopted, and, on replying in the affirmative, I saw the weather-worn faces become still more gloomy, while the women, as rough as the men, and accustomed to the hardest toil, shed tears over the fate of 'cette belle famille.'

“The comte de Paris, having announced that he would see me at ten o'clock this morning, I entered the courtyard as the clock was striking, and was ushered by comte Othenin d'Haussonville, who was on duty with the prince, into a small ground-floor room, where he asked me to wait. It was a small and amply-furnished library adjoining the study of the comte de Paris, who entered in a few minutes.

“I thanked him for receiving me, and explained that I had not come to ‘interview’ him, but simply to express my sincere sympathy at his being menaced with the bitterness of exile.

“‘Oh,’ he replied, ‘I have no occasion to ask for secrecy in this case more than in so many others. I have not to conceal having spoken with you any more than I ask you to conceal it. When I learned at Talavera Station that an Expulsion Bill had been submitted to the Chamber, I did not think of myself, nor even of my family, I thought of my country. I was a prey to profound sorrow, as I felt that after one hundred years of conflicts and discord, the era of proscription was not over, and that the sons of France would again be seen wandering homeless on a foreign soil.’

“‘Where do you intend to go, Monseigneur, if, as is expected, the Bill, as regards yourself and the duc d'Orléans, is passed?’

“‘I have not yet decided; but my leanings are for England. I am receiving from that country so many and such pressing proofs of almost general sympathy; there reach me so many touching letters, even from persons whom I do not know, that it would be difficult

for me at present to choose any other place of refuge. I cannot go to Germany. Austria would remove us too far from my beloved France. I know too well (from an experience which I have not had time to forget), what a centre of intelligence London is, not to be irresistibly attracted to it. I have thought, indeed, of Switzerland, but I could go there afterwards, for I have no intention of settling permanently in one spot.

“ ‘I do not think of buying a house, or forming a regular establishment. Formerly, in my previous exile, I had a fixed residence because my position was different. I was not the unquestioned head of the royal family of France, and I could await the course of events without any neglect of duty. This state of things exists no longer. I do not entirely renounce the hope of returning to my country, for even under its present form of Government, I cannot believe that this persecution will last for ever, and that France will not open her doors to all her children. For this reason I do not mean to settle anywhere permanently.

“ ‘I shall move about. We shall fancy that we are travelling, and we shall have a change of scene without a change of hope.’

“ ‘Is it the fact, Monseigneur, that a general said to you at the reception of the 15th of May, “It is not merely soldiers you have, but an army?”’

“ ‘Never was any such remark made to me. Besides, only two retired generals were present. Neither of them spoke to me on that evening. A great number of unfounded reports have been circulated as to that occasion, and many pretexts have

been derived from them. I was told that the Prime Minister had taken offence because I had invited ambassadors. I could not, however, notify him of it.

“‘It would have given the invitations a political character, which they had not. I did not invite the diplomatic body. I invited to a family soirée diplomatists with whom I had personal relations. Thus, for instance, I have known Lord Lyons for twenty-five years, and I have always been on the best terms with him. I should have been wanting in all regard to propriety, and should have been affecting to give a political character to my invitations, if I had excluded him because of his being the English ambassador.

“‘I have also been twitted with certain newspaper articles. This proves only too clearly how much my assailants were at a loss for arguments. I neither inspired, nor knew anything of these articles. If I had been in communication with their writers, I should have said to them, as I have said to all my friends, “Do not let the character of this soirée be misrepresented. It is a paterfamilias who is inviting his friends. This gathering has no other purpose.”’

“‘It being not improbable that the proposal will be adopted, banishing simply yourself and the duc d’Orléans, and allowing the other princes to remain on a more or less tolerable footing, will those princes follow you?’

“‘As to my brother, I have already distinctly intimated to him my desire that he should remain. As he will have the right of doing so, I am anxious that he should remain if I cannot, and that he should

reside in this country whence I am banished. I have already told you that I do not intend to settle anywhere. I cannot require him to move about with me, and to regard as his residence the place in which I may live according to circumstances or to my preferences. It will be a consolation for me to know that he is here, and I know too well his affection for me not to exert my authority and make him stay in France. There has been much talk of the duc d'Aumale, and when he knew in what way he had been defended from inclusion in the banishment, he was much pained.

“‘ He accordingly lost no time in coming to see me, and having the fact announced everywhere. This was the best way of replying to this explanation of his stay in France. I will say of him what I have said of the duc de Chartres. I cannot inflict peregrinations on him. He has not, like me, the duties of the exceptional situation in which this law places me. For it gives me so exceptional and distinct a situation, that if I had assumed it myself, it would have been imputed to me as a crime. In severing me from the rest of my family, I am classed more formally than I have ever classed myself, and if my pride exceeded my patriotism, I could not but be delighted at it. As to the other princes, they never have figured in politics, and have confined themselves to the desire to serve their country. It is, therefore, fair that they should be left untouched ; and it would be strange if I showed them greater harshness than our adversaries have shown them.’

“‘ It has been said, Monseigneur, that you meant

to wait for expulsion by force, and not to yield to a simple order.'

" 'It was much mistaking me to say such a thing. I know only two ways of acting. Three centuries ago a prince in my position would have killed the persons who brought him such an order, and would have taken the field with his companions in a civil war; but this neither suits the times, nor my disposition. I shall obey the law. I owe my friends that example, and I owe it to my adversaries. I owe it to my country, into which men are too much trying to instil contempt for law. I shall leave in obedience to the law which will be signified to me.'

" 'Will you conceal the time and place of your departure?'

" 'Certainly not; unless I am prevented, I shall leave openly, and I know my friends well enough to be sure that at my departure they will preserve the quiet and silent attitude, which is in keeping with the spectacle of a friendly family leaving for exile. I shall be glad to shake the hands that are held out to me, but I wish for quiet sympathy and not for noisy demonstrations.'

" At this moment it was announced that lunch was ready on the first storey, on which is the dining-room. Besides the comte and comtesse de Paris there were at the table the duc d'Orléans, princess Hélène, princess Isabelle, the comte and comtesse d'Haussonville and their daughter, Dr. Gueneau de Mussey, the inseparable and faithful friend of the family, M. Emmanuel Bocher, the son of the Senator, who has always defended with so much eloquence the cause of the

Orléans family, M. Froment, the tutor of the young duc d'Orléans, and another friend of the family whose name escapes me.

"The young duc d'Orléans is seventeen years of age. He has grown much of late years. His face is intelligent and full of resolution and vivacity, and his dark eyes look you full in the face with manly frankness. He has a resolute and decided disposition. He is an indefatigable walker, an excellent fencer, swimmer and rider, and a remarkably good shot. He speaks correctly and fluently four or five languages.

"Although he is not a great enthusiast for literature, he has a liking for Virgil and Horace, and is sufficiently at home in French contemporary literature and history to take an intelligent interest in conversation of the most varied kinds.

"Princess Hélène is fifteen years old, and like all the children of the comte and comtesse de Paris, is tall and slim. Her countenance is charming, with a smile full of grace and kindness. She has a very clear complexion, and light hair falling round her animated face. The little princess Isabelle is eight years old. She is an attractive child, with a chubby face, and light hair cut short over the forehead, but falling in long golden ringlets down her back. She speaks English fluently, and exercises an indescribable charm by her refined manners, intelligent eyes and amiable smile. The comte de Paris has two younger children, princess Louise, who, being only four years old, does not appear at meal-time, and is doated on by all; the last comer, a boy of two, said to be very robust.

"While I regarded this family, so united, unostentatious, cordial and gifted, and, on reflecting that at the Palais Bourbon preparations were being made to drive it from its country, and render it homeless, a pang seized me, and, as though all present had the same feeling, there was a deep silence. The master of the house, struck by the sadness visible on every countenance, gave a signal to the comtesse, seated opposite him, and all rose. We went down into the prince's study, looking out on the park—a simple room, where, behind two writing-tables, placed alongside, some portraits, keepsakes and drawings are arranged on stands. One of these drawings, from the hand of the new duchess of Bragance, reproduces in a bouquet formed of a blue cornflower, a white rose and a red carnation, the verses of Coppée on the three French colours. The words are in the handwriting of the duchess Amélie herself. It is, however, in the name of the tricolor that her parents are about to be exiled.

"As I was about to leave my entertainers, the young duc d'Orléans, came up, and turning his penetrating glance towards me, he said :

" 'M. de Freycinet has no son, has he ?'

" 'No, Monseigneur. You mean, no doubt, that if he had, he would not have liked to bequeath to him the remembrance of his law of ostracism ?'

" 'Just so.' "

A few days before this visit of M. de Blowitz, the comte de Paris, with imperturbable calmness, addressed the following letter to the English trans-

lators in Philadelphia of his "History of the Civil War in America."

"Château d'Eu (Seine Inférieure) June 8, 1886.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Events have occurred in France which render the continuance of my stay at Eu so uncertain, that I must be prepared to live for a time without a home. If I am obliged at a moment's notice to leave this place, I shall be deprived of my library. I therefore beg that you will send me no more books on the subject of the Civil War, unless there should appear something of quite exceptional interest, such as the memoirs of General Grant. Unfortunately, political events leave me very little time to devote to my library.

"I remain yours faithfully,

"PHILIPPE, COMTE DE PARIS."

It was at that time that several American officers, who had served with the comte de Paris and the duc de Chartres on the staff of General MacClellan in 1861-1862, invited the prince to seek a refuge in America, and sent the following telegram, signed by General Butterfield and several other officers :

"To the comte de Paris in Paris.

"Come over to us. We old soldiers will receive you gladly. We honour the services which you rendered to the republic in the time of its greatest need. No one is more highly respected than yourself

and the duc de Chartres by our veterans, who appreciate your services and your valour. A cordial welcome awaits you."

General Butterfield received the following reply :

" Received with gratitude your kind telegram. The cordial sympathy of our old comrades in your grand republic is, indeed, a consolation and an encouragement to me in this miserable time. Unfortunately, for the present, America is too far off, but a visit to your country, once torn by war, now so prosperous, is one of my fondest hopes.

" PHILIPPE, COMTE DE PARIS."

Some days later, the head of the House of France wrote to M. Mercié, who had exhibited in the Salon of that year an admirable group of King Louis Philippe, and Queen Marie Amélie, destined for the Mausoleum at Dreux.*

" SIR,

" Enclosed is the sketch which I promised you of the Orléans Arms, which are characterized by a rebatement on the escutcheon above the three fleur-de-Lys.

" I am happy to have this opportunity of expressing my admiration for your prize picture. You have represented the good King and the saintly Queen as they will always appear in impartial history, and from

* The Académie des Beaux Arts awarded the biennial prize of 20,000 francs to this production of M. Mercié, July 1, 1887. This prize is awarded to such work or discovery as is considered of the greatest service or honour to the country.

an artistic point of view you have achieved a grand and magnificent idea.

"I beg to thank you in the name of my family, and remain

"Yours affectionately,

"PHILIPPE, COMTE DE PARIS."

On the evening of the 11th, the Chamber had voted the project of M. Brousse, which had been accepted by Government.

The next day M. Demôle, Minister of Justice—does not the title sound ironical under the present circumstances?—laid the bill of exile before the Senate, who, on the following Tuesday, the 15th, nominated a commission to pronounce on its rejection or adoption. The Senate had not waited till the bill was laid before them to deliberate on the matter; the different republican groups had officiously discussed it, and a rather considerable majority seemed to be in favour of the bill.

It therefore caused some astonishment when it transpired that the majority of the members, viz., six of the commission appointed by the Senate, were hostile to the bill laid before them by Government. These were Messrs. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, Bérenger, Schérer, Dido, de Pressensé and Robert de Massy. The three members who favoured the bill were Messrs. Journault, Henri Didier, and Caduc; about sixty senators had abstained from voting.

The explanations given by Government to the commission did not affect the decision of the majority, who rejected the conciliatory amendments proposed by M.

Bozérian and M. Marcel Barthe, and concluded by throwing out the bill passed at the Palais Bourbon. M. Béranger was charged to draw up a bill in this sense, which he read before the Senate, on Saturday the 19th ; on the 21st the public discussion began. The debate lasted, as before in the Chamber, for two days, the subject being discussed as exhaustively as the gravity of the case demanded by the members of the Right and those of the Left Centre, who opposed the expulsion. We cannot speak too highly of the memorable speeches made in defence of right and justice by M. Jules Simon, M. Léon Renault, M. Bardoux, M. Béranger, and especially by the duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier.

The Senate now found itself in the abnormal position of having, like the Chamber, to pronounce on a decision arrived at by its commission, which was contrary to the bill presented to it. But whereas the commission appointed by the Chamber aggravated the evil of the Government bill, the report of the Senate's commission announced a rejection of all the proposals. The only speech worthy of notice among those in favour of exile was that of M. de Freycinet. The president only spoke during the second debate.

The first day of these important proceedings was opened by M. Journault, who implored the Senate "not to assume the grave and weighty responsibility of rejecting a bill adopted by Government, and passed by the Chamber." He could not, however, bring forward any reasons in support of his demand.

M. Jules Simon then rose, and this honourable member of the Left Centre pleaded with warmth, and

with remarkable skill, the cause of right and liberty. Examining first the position of the princes, he commented indignantly on the refusal to allow them the title of "citizen," which, by universal suffrage, had become common to all; then he inquired into the motives which had led to the demand for their exile. He proved "that if, as the ministry affirms, there be a government hostile to the republic, it is not at the Hôtel Galliera that they must look for it, but at the Hôtel de Ville at Paris. It is doubtless true, as M. de Freycinet has remarked, that the position of the comte de Paris has become stronger since the death of the comte de Chambord, and of the prince Imperial; but how does that justify measures so violent as the exile of the princes?" Speaking of the expulsion of the comte de Paris, M. Jules Simon adds:—"It may be said that his position is stronger than it was; I grant it, and draw the obvious conclusion—that, if it be so, the actual dwellingplace of the prince is a matter of small moment. Whether he reside at Eu or in Paris, in Italy or in London, he will everywhere continue to be the successor, and if ever—which God forbid, and which I, as you well know, do not desire—a successor to the republic be wanted, it will be easy to find him. You cannot transport him to a country inaccessible to our ships and telegrams, and consequently, if his claims and pretensions become still stronger, you cannot minimise them. Thus the only two grievances which you have against him are those which proscription cannot touch. You can invoke these grievances if you are afraid (murmurs from the Left), but do not invoke them in order to pronounce the decree of exile,

for, by banishing him whom you fear, you do not in any way lessen the danger. (Hear, hear! from the Right.) That is my answer; I will resume my discussion:—

“This law which you desire is an exceptional law—and permit me to say, without offence to any one, that I see no difference between exceptional law and violation of the law—this law does not benefit you, on the contrary, it harms you; it does not harm the princes, it benefits them.” (Murmurs from the Left, great applause from Right and Centre.) Then, examining the conduct of the Republic for the past few years, he showed how its very existence was based on exceptional measures, and he concluded with these vehement words: “Well, all the measures which I have enumerated are, I repeat, the result of the same system of Government. It may be summed up as dispersion of congregations, neglect of religious buildings, enforced secularization of the schools, revision of the Senate, censorship of the press, expulsion of the princes. All this, gentlemen, results from the same system of Government; a celebrated speaker, in the Chamber of Deputies, in describing the system has struck the keynote of all the measures which I have enumerated. He said: ‘Away with every restraint!’ (Hear, hear! and applause from Right and Centre.) Yes, this is your whole system of government. Away with all that annoys us! (Murmurs from the Left, applause from the Right.) Away with congregations if they annoy us!”

M. Paris—“He also said, ‘Down with the Senate!’”

M. Jules Simon “Away with the priests in the schools if they annoy us; away with the insignia

of religion wherever they annoy us, whether in tribunals, prisons, or cemeteries—away with them! Away with the magistrates who administer decrees, but will not do what we want! (Interruptions from the Left, applause from the Right and Centre.) Away with the permanence of the law which is its safeguard. Away with the Senate if it opposes us! Away with the princes if we fear that they will take our place! Away with them! away with them!

“Well, gentlemen, begin with the princes, and no one knows where you will be landed. Formerly you began with the Jesuits, and see where that has led you. Begin with the princes; those exiles whom you banish from your country will be witnesses against you; they will prove to posterity that France is not mistress of herself, is not sure of herself, that the Republic is afraid, and that the struggle, which for a hundred years has been going on between the revolution of Right, which is that of 1789, and the revolution of Hatred, which is that of 1793, is not yet over, in spite of all the blood and the tears that have flowed.” (Prolonged applause from Right and Centre. The speaker, on resuming his seat, was congratulated by a large number of his colleagues of the Right and Centre.)

M. Clamageron then spoke in favour of the bill; his aimless arguments were followed by a vigorous and conclusive answer from M. Léon Renault, who endeavoured especially to demonstrate “That the proposed expulsion was a derogation of universal right; that it was in flat contradiction to the principles on which is based the penal legislation of all civilized

peoples." He ended with this crushing sentence. "You are told, gentlemen, that it is a question between the princes and the Republic. No; it is, in reality, a question between the Republic and revolution."

After this speech the meeting rose amidst much excitement, and was adjourned till the following day. The second debate in the Senate was still more exciting. It was opened by M. Marcon, a radical, who hastened to declare himself a Jacobin, so as to justify beforehand the brutality of his arguments, and his cool demand for the "execution" of the princes, for this is the word he used to signify their expulsion.

M. Bardoux then rose, and his speech was one of the finest and most sensible of the whole debate. He confined himself chiefly to overthrowing the Jacobin theories of the last speaker, and then descanted on the violation of the law which the Senate was about to commit, and on the danger to which they would expose the Republic.

After him came the President of the Council, in whose speech we find repeated, in the same words and in the same order, the very arguments brought forward in the Chamber by M. de Freycinet. But he insisted particularly on two points, viz., the "generosity" of Government, and its "strength and energy in the maintenance of order." This assertion came badly so soon after the Decazeville murders.

He then endeavoured to reassure those who feared that the expulsion of the princes would open the door to proscription. With incredible assurance he pretended that "monarchical intrigues were the only obstacles to the union and security which all desired,"

and he tried to frighten the Senate as to the consequences of rejecting the bill. This is always a convincing argument with the Senate, and on this occasion it again won for the president the majority that he wanted.

The chairman, M. Béranger, followed immediately, and proceeded to draw the only natural conclusion possible from the last speech, viz., that they were face to face with an exceptional measure. He concluded with these very true words, "And when you say I demand an infraction of right, but only for the moment, we will presently abide by the law, what is the difference between that and the formula of all coups d'Etat?"

The duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier then rose, and his dignified, comprehensive protest deserved to make, and indeed did make, the greatest impression. He began by expressing his alarm on seeing his country dragged down a fatal precipice by a blinded Government, and he appealed urgently to the wisdom of the Senate to prevent the dangers which he foresaw in the future.

"It is not only to conservative but to liberal France that I appeal from your weakness and your violence (applause from the Right). M. President, there is no stopping on the path you have taken, and down which you are endeavouring to drag the Senate. Do you imagine that the concession you are now demanding from it, incredible though it be, will satisfy the revolutionary party?"

"Concessions only authorize and encourage fresh demands, fresh audacity; you desire to make a stand,

but they will cry, 'Forward, forward!'" (Renewed applause from the Right.)

He concluded thus : " You will continue to persecute religious beliefs under pretext of neutrality (murmurs from the Left) ; under pretext of reform, you will continue to ignore services which have been rendered, and to destroy appointments honourably acquired ; you will exhaust our budget to satisfy electoral interests, you will yield to the growing demands of the municipal council in Paris. You will leave unpunished those speakers at public meetings who will continue to preach pillage and incendiarism, and to demand the destruction of citizens and capitalists—in fact, you will propose new exceptional laws. All these things we have struggled against, and shall continue to struggle against ; we shall always remain impassioned advocates of liberty of conscience, of the independence of the bench, of right and of justice—those grand bulwarks which, in its heart, the country desires to see respected, knowing that they alone ensure her prosperity, her dignity, her peace. (Loud applause from the Right.)

"Gentlemen, if you pass this bill now before you (which we earnestly trust will not be the case), we, shall say to you without discouragement, without anger, having an unshaken trust in the future, ' We accept what is thrust upon us ; we pity you, but we do not complain!'" (Applause from the Right. The speaker, on resuming his seat, was loudly congratulated by his colleagues.) The general debate having been brought to a close, the Senate resolved to pass to the discussion of the articles of the bill.

M. Marcel Barthe demanded that all the evidence

which could be produced should be laid before those judges whose duty it is to pronounce on attempts against the safety of the State.

But the Senate refused to discuss this proposal. M. de Pressensé then explained the reasons which caused him and his friends to oppose the bill of expulsion. Article I., the text of which has already been given, was put to the vote. After a long scrutiny the president made known the result. Article I. was carried by 137 to 122 votes.

In the midst of the universal excitement caused by this announcement, the president put the remaining articles to the vote. They were all adopted by show of hands ; it only remained to adopt the bill in its entirety. The president announced that he had received a demand for secret scrutiny of the votes ; this, by desire of the Left, took place.

At eight o'clock the result was made known.

The bill was carried by 141 to 107 votes.

The meeting then rose in the greatest excitement. Again had the Senate compounded with the authors of the exceptional measures, and had become an accomplice in the iniquity committed by the Chamber of Deputies.

On June 23rd, the day after the bill had passed the Senate, the *Journal officiel* proclaimed the following law, passed by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.

“ LAW RELATIVE TO THE MEMBERS OF THOSE FAMILIES
WHICH HAVE REIGNED IN FRANCE.

“ The Senate and the Chamber having passed the

following law, the President of the Republic proclaims it.

“Article I.—The territory of the Republic is, and remains, forbidden to the heads of those families which have reigned in France, and to their direct heirs in order of primogeniture.

“Article II.—The Government is authorized to forbid the territory of the Republic to other members of those families ; such interdiction to be pronounced by decree of the President of the Republic, taken in council.

“Article III.—He, who in violation of this decree, shall be found in France, Algiers, or the colonies, shall be punished by imprisonment of from two to five years. At the expiration of his sentence he will be conducted to the frontier.

“Article IV.—Members of families who have reigned in France shall not be allowed to enter the army or navy, nor exercise any public function, nor be eligible for election in France.

“The present law, discussed and adopted by the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, will be carried into execution as law of the land.

“Given in Paris, June 22, 1886.

“JULES GRÉVY.

“The President of the Republic.

“Keeper of the Seals, Minister of Justice,

“DEMÔLE.

“Minister of the Interior,

“SARRIEN.”

At the very moment that an infuriated Government was thus about to strike at the princes, the comte de Paris left Lisbon for France. The train by which he was returning stopped at the Spanish station of Talaveyra de la Reyna, where the travellers were to breakfast. Curiously enough, the buffet was kept by an old French sergeant of the Chasseurs d'Orléans, who had served throughout the African campaigns in the same regiment as Captain Morhain, who accompanied the prince. This old soldier, who was eagerly waiting on the prince, brought him a telegram while he was at breakfast. It contained the news that the ministers had decided to bring in a bill for the exile of the princes. The comte de Paris read the telegram in silence, and informed those about him that he should return at once to Eu, and there, surrounded by his family, await the decision of the Chamber.

It was at this castle of Eu that the comte de Paris had for more than ten years spent the greatest part of his time, happy in being able to live in the country which he so passionately loved. The prince had delighted in the glorious and hallowed memories of the place. It has been seen how, with the help of able artists, he had restored to the castle of Eu its former splendour; encouraged in this restoration by the thought that the works were a benefit to the workmen in the little town of Eu. The comte de Paris and his family were adored in the neighbourhood, where they delighted in doing good. During the various phases of the bill of exile, the anxiety of the comte and comtesse de Paris was greatly aggravated by the illness of one of their daughters, princess Louise, a

charming child of five. The princess, who, during the preceding winter, had often been ailing, was suddenly attacked by scarlet fever, which was accompanied by alarming symptoms. For some days Dr. Henri Guéneau de Mussy, the devoted friend of the family, did not conceal the serious anxiety which the state of the princess caused him. Each day the post and telegraph brought numberless marks of sympathy from those, who, foreseeing only too clearly the issue of the debate, desired at the moment of the decision to assure the head of the House of France of their respectful and unalterable devotion.

The duc de Chartres, accompanied by his son, prince Henri, had arrived at the castle on the previous Monday, and the prince de Joinville was not long in following him.

On Tuesday, June 22nd, as the Senate was accomplishing its fatal work, the duc d'Aumale left Chantilly and joined the comte de Paris. Some faithful, devoted friends also left Paris, wishing to be with the prince when the result of the final debate should be known at the castle. Amongst them was M. Lambert de Sainte Croix, a distinguished and eloquent orator, who for five years had been an ornament to the tribune. He possessed all the qualities necessary to make a good minister—energy, coolness, great acuteness, and wonderful command of language. He entered the diplomatic service in 1848, at the time of the catastrophe of February 24th. He gave up the career which promised to be so brilliant, and went to England to convey to the old King Louis-Philippe the assurance of an absolute devotion, which nothing

has since been able to shake. He is now one of the best and most trusted of the comte de Paris' advisers.

After dinner, at which several intimate friends were present, together with the household and the members of his family, the comte de Paris with the princes, princesses and his guests, among whom were General de Charette and M. E. Hervé, went to the large library on the first floor of the left wing of the castle. There were brought the numerous telegrams announcing the clôture and the division on the first article, which would involve the adoption of the whole bill. These telegrams were given, in the order in which they arrived, to the marquis de Beauvoir, who presented them to the comte de Paris. The prince was sitting between his uncles, the duc d'Aumale and the prince de Joinville, having his brother the duc de Chartres opposite to him.

At about 9.30 the last despatch arrived, bringing the news of the final act. The comte de Paris read it aloud in a tone of deepest emotion, and added, "It is all over, I shall leave on Thursday." All those present had risen to their feet; not a word, not a syllable was uttered, so deeply were all affected by the grandeur and simplicity of this prince, so unjustly and so cruelly attacked. For fifteen long minutes no one spoke, the women tried to stifle their sobs. At last the silence was broken by the duc d'Aumale, who said solemnly, his clear voice husky with emotion, "Gentlemen, our history has known many a crime, many a cowardly act, but nothing that can compare with this that has just been committed!"

The comte de Paris turned towards him and said, "I thank you most sincerely, uncle, for having come to be with me in this hour of trial, when I am treated with such cruelty and injustice."

"You know well," replied the duc d'Aumale affectionately, "whatever may be said, that I shall always be of one mind with you, even when separated from you."

Again there was a long silence. Then M. Lambert de Sainte Croix said a few words about those who, after passing such a bill, could sleep peacefully in their beds. "Come what may," said General de Charette, "I trust in Providence, and await with absolute confidence the hour of awakening."

At this moment the comtesse de Paris entered the room. Traces of tears were on her cheeks, but she summoned up all her courage and said in a firm voice, "Well, it is all over; we must begin our wandering life again. When will it please God to put an end to it?" Then, turning to her son she said, "My dear, you had better go to bed, you will want all your strength. Learn to look misfortune in the face!" All those present then approached the royal family with tears in their eyes, and, without attempting a word of futile consolation, bowed to the princes, kissed the hand of the princess and retired, leaving the four princes and the comtesse de Paris alone.

As General de Charette was leaving the room, the duc d'Aumale rose and went towards him. "General," said he, "I have not always agreed with you on all points, nor do I now, but let me have the pleasure of shaking hands once more with a valiant soldier and an

honest man!" The general, much affected, grasped his hand and retired. On rejoining his friends, who were waiting for him, he exclaimed, "Yes, their persecutors are perfectly right when they say that they are not like other men!" Thus ended at Eu the evening on which the Senate passed the bill of M. de Freycinet.

The next day, the comtesse de Paris, stifling her maternal agony of mind, declared her intention of accompanying the princes; she would return to her beloved invalid after doing her duty as a devoted wife. In the midst of the universal grief, the princess went about endeavouring to raise the hopes and courage of all.

The news of the passing of the bill was not long in spreading in the town. A group of anxious inhabitants waited in front of the castle gates; for, though there had been but little doubt as to the issue of the debate, the announcement of the actual passing of the bill caused a sort of stupor. These good people could not believe that these princes, so kind, so generous, were about to receive so cruel a sentence as perpetual exile—they whose only fault was that of loving France too dearly, and of desiring a glorious future for their country. The trains on the "Nord" and the "Ouest" lines had been literally besieged from early morning. The hotels in the little town were soon invaded, then private houses were brought into requisition, every vacant bed was taken, and many people were obliged to go to Tréport and even to Dieppe to seek accommodation, which soon became difficult to find in both these places.

From midday the gates of the castle were thronged by thousands, anxious to show their respectful devotion to the head of the House of France. After passing round the lawn extending in front of the castle, they entered the "salle des Chasses," and, mounting a staircase hung with tapestry, arrived at the famous "salle des Guises" on the first floor.

This immense gallery, with its numerous windows opening on the two chief façades of the castle, owes its name to the portraits of all the princes of the Guise family, which cover the wall. In the middle of this hall, in front of a beautiful marble statue of Jeanne d'Arc, the work of princess Marie d'Orléans, stand the comte and comtesse de Paris, and round them are grouped the duc d'Orléans, princess Hélène, the duc de Chartres, prince Henri d'Orléans, the duc d'Aumale, and the prince de Joinville. Baron Chabaud-Latour, one of the prince's secretaries, presents the visitors, and the comte de Paris has for each a word of encouragement which goes straight to the heart.

The deputies were only to arrive at the castle on the Thursday ; but the deputation from the "Nord," which on that day would be detained in Paris by an important discussion, came on the Wednesday to convey to the prince the assurance of their respect and sympathy. M. Plichon, who spoke in the name of his colleagues, and who was much affected, made a speech, to which the comte de Paris replied in these words : "Have confidence, as I have myself ;" then seeing tears in the eyes of his friends, he tried to console them, saying that, painful as was the separation, it would have a limit ; he enjoined a still firmer union

of the members of the great conservative party, and bade them never despair. He added: "Resignation makes saints, but not kings." This firmness, this confidence in the future, made a deep impression on all present.

For three hours this enormous crowd, collected from all parts of France, passed before the royal family. The space in front of the castle gates was thronged with the inhabitants of the place, watching the arrival and departure of all the known and unknown friends who, inspired by the same spirit, rallied round the head of the House of France. The visitors' book, placed in the lodge, was soon filled with signatures. It was touching to see, side by side with the celebrated names of our most ancient families, the signatures of farmers, workmen and fishermen who hardly knew how to write. Women of the lower orders were there, watching it all, knowing the misfortune which was about to overtake them, and hiding their faces bathed in tears.

The comte de Paris, having decided to leave France, had ordered one of the steamers of the Dieppe and Newhaven line to be chartered for him at Tréport, but a violent wind was blowing in the offing, and it was feared that the boat would not be able to get into the shallow harbour of Tréport. However, the *Victoria*, a boat flying the English colours, and commanded by Captain Stubbs, had been at anchor since the morning. It was a curious incident that the comte de Paris on returning into exile, was to embark on the very spot where, forty years before, Queen Victoria had arrived from England on a visit to Louis

Philippe, who had received her at this same castle of Eu. During the whole of that day the comte and comtesse de Paris received telegrams from all parts of France—touching proofs of the grief of those who, unable to go to Eu, desired to prove their profound respect for the exiles.

A report was circulated that the Government, fearing some demonstration, would force the prince to leave suddenly at five o'clock the next morning. The friends of the prince, indignant at this possibility, urged him, if this were the case, to go on board the *Victoria* at five o'clock the next morning, and to remain under the protection of the British flag until the hour fixed for his departure.

The Government thought it necessary to employ all the resources afforded by the gendarmerie, police and soldiery; in the morning the following manuscript placard was posted up all over the town of Tréport :—

MAYORALTY OF TRÉPORT.

“As the comte de Paris will in all probability embark at Tréport, the mayor of Tréport requests the inhabitants to maintain a calm, respectful demeanour, and not to yield to any incitement to disorder.”

On the previous Wednesday all the gendarmerie of the neighbourhood had been concentrated at Eu and at Tréport. The captain in command of the detachment at Eu fell from his horse in front of the castle gates and broke his leg. The comte de Paris twice sent one of his secretaries to inquire after the un-

fortunate officer. At all the receptions the prince urged those who meant to be present at his departure to remain calm, and to take no part in any demonstration which might be got up by agitators, whose suspicious demeanour had been observed for some days past. Eight brigades of gendarmes had been sent to Tréport!

On the 23rd the sub-prefect of Dieppe telegraphed to the captain at Tréport an inquiry as to the exact number of gendarmes required for the next day, in view of the crowds arriving from Paris and the country. He desired him to telegraph the same day the approximate number of arrivals, the dispositions he had made, and whether three or six brigades would be enough. The lieutenant of the gendarmerie (acting for the captain disabled by a fall from his horse) telegraphed that the number of arrivals on the 23rd was not considerable, that he believed there would be many more the next day, and that there was nothing to diminish the effective force of the brigades.

The wind which had been blowing such a gale during the evening of the preceding day, that serious apprehensions were entertained as to the possibility of leaving the harbour, had completely dropped in the night, and a radiant sun brightened the last morning that the comte de Paris was to spend in France before his departure into exile. At six o'clock in the morning, Mass was said in the castle chapel, at which were present the comte and comtesse de Paris, the duc d'Orléans, princess Hélène, the duc de Chartres, prince Henri d'Orléans, the duc d'Aumale, the prince de

Joinville, the duc d'Alençon (who had arrived the day before), and all the members of the prince's household.

The bells of the parish church in front of the castle were ringing joyfully, for it was a church festival, the Fête Dieu, and the first Communion of the children in the town. In this last sad hour, the comte and comtesse de Paris, with the duc d'Orléans and princess Hélène, wishing to give one more proof of their sympathy with those whom they were leaving, went to offer up their prayers in the church, in the midst of all the good people there assembled. On returning to the castle at nine o'clock the royal family went to the galerie des Chasses, where they took farewell of the staff of the castle. All those loyal servants, the gamekeepers and the dependants of the household filed past, and many were the tears shed, proving the deep devotion felt by all, for the masters whom they might perhaps never see again.

At ten o'clock M. Isaïe Levailant, director of public safety, made his way through the crowd which thronged the gates and demanded to see the comte de Paris. The prince, anticipating some communication from the authorities, had arranged that comte d'Haussonville, one of his secretaries, should receive it. M. Levailant, much annoyed at not being allowed to see the prince, informed M. d'Haussonville that he was the bearer of an official communication from M. de Freycinet. The president of the council was ready, in consideration of the illness of princess Louise, to grant a delay of a few days should the prince desire it. "I am sufficiently well acquainted

with the wishes of Monseigneur," answered M. d'Haussonville, "to reply to your proposition without reference to him. Monseigneur the comte de Paris neither desires nor will receive a favour from any one. Monseigneur the prince and M. le duc d'Orléans will leave to-day at the hour already fixed." "We have taken every precaution for the maintenance of order," remarked the director of public safety, "and if you wish I will place myself entirely at your disposal to clear the approaches to the quay from which the prince will embark." "It is the business of Government to maintain order," replied M. d'Haussonville; "if the police think it advisable to take extra precautions let them do so; that does not concern the prince, who in nowise requires your assistance." At eleven o'clock the castle gates were opened, books were placed on tables, and crowds of people of every class pressed forward to write their names, and to be present at the farewell reception of the prince.

In order that all the people might have an opportunity of paying their respects to those whom they called the benefactors of their country, it had been decided that this last reception should take place in the open air. The comte and comtesse de Paris, the duc d'Orléans, princess Hélène, the duc de Chartres, prince Henri d'Orléans, the duc d'Aumale, the prince de Joinville and the duc d'Alençon took their places on the wide steps overlooking Tréport and the sea in front of a magnificent parterre à la Française, shaded with splendid old trees, and surrounded by masses of flowering roses. The reception then began, and for nearly two hours this crowd of friends—often

unknown and obscure—advanced, paid their tribute of respectful homage to the royal family which they had learnt to love so well, and passed on. The comte and comtesse de Paris shook hands with each, and it was touching to see these good people, many of them in blouses, advance trembling, their eyes filled with tears, and press with emotion the hands so cordially stretched out towards them. Unfortunately one cannot remember half the touching scenes that occurred, nor the words that were said ; it was a sight which will never be forgotten in this country, and one which is destined to bear fruit. Princess Hélène, with her charming grace of manner, and the duc d'Orléans, with his pleasant countenance and manly bearing, also shook hands cordially with all. One could not help looking with pity at this young prince, who at an age usually devoted to games and study, was about to begin the hard apprenticeship of life, and taste the bitterness of exile.

After this respectful and sympathetic crowd had passed by, the prince received the royalist senators and deputies. The comte de Paris, addressing some words of farewell to them, said that he was forced to leave his beloved country, but not for a single day would he cease to labour for the happiness and prosperity of France. These words, spoken with vehemence, excited great emotion among the representatives of the country.

M. de Baudry d'Asson, deputy of la Vendée, warmly assured the prince of the profound sympathy of the Vendéans.

The moment of departure was approaching, and the

princes were preparing to start on their exile, when a number of workmen, women and children, who had not yet been received, begged the favour of a last glimpse of the royal family.

The procession, interrupted for a few minutes, now began again, and was more affecting even than the preceding reception. The comtesse de Paris, who had hitherto been able to control herself, could no longer conceal her tears as she shook hands with her devoted friends. One workman said, as he dried his eyes, "I am happier than the poor prince, for I have a home to go to this evening." Many of the Tréport sailors had come with their wives and children, and they wept as they kissed the hand of the comtesse de Paris.

At two o'clock, having said farewell to their children, to the duc d'Aumale, the prince de Joinville, and the duc d'Alençon, the comte and comtesse de Paris left Eu, accompanied by the duc d'Orléans and the duc de Chartres. The avenues leading from the gates of the castle, the square, the steps, and the open space round the church—every available space—was thronged with people, who, bareheaded, awaited the arrival of the carriages which were to convey the exiles and their companions to Tréport.

In the first carriage were the comte and comtesse de Paris, the duc d'Orléans and the duc de Chartres. Then followed seven other carriages, in which were the principal members of the prince's suite and some of their intimate friends; the carriages took the road to Tréport. So deep was the emotion of all the spectators that not a cry was heard as the procession

passed, but the faces bathed in tears expressed only too clearly the grief felt by all at the departure of the exiled princes. Handkerchiefs were waved, and all eyes were strained to follow the carriages as they rapidly disappeared; the workmen in the fields, leaving their work, came running up and shouting, "Au revoir, Monseigneur!"

The splendid road leading to Tréport traverses the fine property of Eu, which the prince had delighted in beautifying and perfecting with every modern agricultural improvement. All the changes made of late years had been the personal work of the prince, and his incessant activity had enabled him to superintend in person the details of this important establishment.

While the comte de Paris and his suite were proceeding to Tréport an enormous crowd had been stationed for hours round the harbour in which the *Victoria* was getting up steam.

More than 20,000 persons thronged the quay, the windows of houses and hotels, and every place from which the departure could be witnessed. The road was kept by brigades of gendarmerie from the town and neighbourhood, by the 24th Regiment of the line, and by the custom house officials.

A free space had been cleared on the quay for the passage of the royal party. Near the gangway leading to the ship, the senators, deputies and representatives of the press had taken up their position. The rest of the spectators surrounded the dock, making it look like an immense circus.

At 2.30 the carriage of the comte de Paris, leading

the procession, appeared in front of the Hôtel d'Angleterre, and crossed the bridge leading to the starting place. A solemn silence takes possession of the crowd. All hearts are full, and all eyes are fixed on the quarter from which the prince must arrive. The carriages have stopped near the steamer. The comte de Paris, in a closely-buttoned, black overcoat and tall hat, crosses the gangway and takes his place on the deck of the *Victoria*. As he sets foot on board, the national tricolor flag is run up, and is lowered three times to salute the descendant of St. Louis and Henri IV. It had been suggested to the prince that a flag should be hoisted bearing the arms of his house on the national colours, but he had replied, "No, nothing but France, nothing but the French flag!"

At the sight of the national flag loud cheers burst forth, and shouts of "Long live the comte de Paris!"

The prince took off his hat, saluted the colours, bowed to the crowd and cried in a loud voice "Long live France!"

Around him are grouped the comtesse de Paris, the duc d'Orléans, the duc de Chartres and his eldest son, prince Henri, the duc de Noailles, the duc de la Trémoille, the marquis d'Harcourt, the comte de Haussonville, the marquis de Beauvoir, vicomtesse de Butler, lady in waiting to the comtesse de Paris, the comte de la Ferronays, comte Olivier de Bondy, baron de Chabaud la Tour, M. St. Marc Girardin, M. Aubrey Vitet, the marquis d'Audiffret-Pasquier, M. de Saporta, M. Camille Dupuey, the prince's private secretary, and M. Froment, tutor to the duc d'Orléans.

The comte de Paris, remembering the title he bears, and the city in which he was born, had especially invited M. Calla, formerly deputy of Paris, and Gamard, Cochin, Despatys and Dufaure, municipal councillors of Paris, to accompany him to England.

A few friends, amongst whom were baron V. de Noirfontaine, M. de L  ris and M. Barnard, of the *New York Herald*, had the good fortune to obtain permission to accompany the prince to Dover, and these completed the passengers on board the *Victoria*.

As the comtesse de Paris takes her place by the side of the prince, she is presented with some bouquets which have just arrived, sent by friends who desired that the exiles should have some French flowers to carry with them into a foreign land. The gangway is removed, the anchor is weighed, the shouts of "Long live the comte de Paris!" are redoubled, and seem like an immense ovation. The comte de Paris, whose extreme pallor betrays his emotion, cries "Au revoir,    bient  t!"

The steamer moves slowly off, obliged to stop from time to time on account of the difficulty of leaving the harbour when the tide is not high. The spectators, wishing to follow it to the last minute, press along the quay, and to the very end of the pier, repeating thousands of times "Long live France! Long live the comte de Paris! Long live the King! Au revoir,    bient  t!"

After the departure there is deep silence, all are grave and depressed, and the crowd disperses slowly; the quay, the harbour, just now so animated, are soon

deserted. One word is in every mouth, one impression, produced by this scene so touching in its simplicity. "It is a royal departure," said one, "the return will be equally royal." "They thought," said another, "that the exile of our princes would be the end. No; it is the beginning!" Yes, the beginning of a ceaseless struggle, in which the courage of all will be raised by the recollections of that day.

The ovation had been spontaneous, and from the port to the end of the pier the crowd had been carried away by the excitement; while the intimate friends of the prince, in obedience to the advice given them, only shouted "Long live the comte de Paris," a thousand cries of "Long live the King!" burst from that part of the pier which was chiefly occupied by sailors. . . .

Few vessels had left the harbour that morning, and their flags were all half mast. The "commissaire de la marine" ordered them to remove their flags. Four boats belonging to M. Lemaire Duponchel, a ship-owner, having, in spite of this order, kept their flags at half mast, the commissaire himself removed these signs of mourning; but one of the boats, *Marie Reine-du-Ciel*, followed the steamer which conveyed the comte de Paris for some distance with her flag at half mast.

"To see the soldiers and gendarmes stationed along the quay," said one paper, "one would have thought that all that armed force was required to put down some seditious meeting. Most of the spectators were evidently of that opinion, and one of the harbour women was heard to say as the boat started, "It does

make me sad, for, when I think how good the prince has been to me, paying for my husband's funeral, and my children's schooling, I should dearly like to shout with the rest ; but I have my children to think of, and I cannot go to prison." However, the next minute, carried away by her feelings, she shouted, " Long live the King ! "

It is true that some very simple people imagined that the troops were stationed there for a very different purpose. One honest countryman near me having overheard some one wonder why so many troops should have been brought there, and allowed to remain inactive during the whole proceedings, exclaimed, " But surely they have had the soldiers out to do honour to the prince ! " In the midst of this grand spectacle, there were some very characteristic incidents. One gendarme had said in the morning to those about him, " I beg you to keep quiet ; if you shout ' Long live the King ! ' I shall be obliged to arrest you, and if you shout ' Long live the Republic ! ' I shan't like it ! "

A battalion of infantry, sent to Tréport under pretext of protecting the exiles on their departure, had been drawn up in line parallel to the quay. The mournful crowd, waiting in calm silence, proved how utterly unnecessary was the employment of all this force ; the officers, ashamed of their part in the business, were standing at some distance from their men. Suddenly, at the very moment that the royal carriages arrived, a loud, clear voice was heard giving the word of command, " Attention ! Present arms ! " The soldiers obeyed the supposed command of their

officer, and presented arms to the head of the House of France, as he was about to depart into exile. The perpetrator of this clever joke is known to us.

Meanwhile the comte and comtesse de Paris are being slowly borne away, and seem unable to take their eyes off the shores of their beloved country, from which their enemies hope to banish them for ever. They remain motionless, the duc d'Orléans, the duc de Chartres and prince Henri at their side, gazing for the last time on that crowd, who are still waving handkerchiefs, but who are too far off to permit of their shouts and cheers being heard. However, one last cry of "Au revoir, à bientôt!" reaches them from the pilot and his rowers, who, as they leave the ship, send this cry of hope after the exiles. The comte and comtesse de Paris, heartbroken, reply, "A bientôt! We shall return!" The steamer is now in the open sea; the comte de Paris gives orders to salute with the flag, and ten or twelve fishing boats round the steamer return the salute in the same manner.

For a long time the crowd continues to gaze after the *Victoria*, and then slowly disperses repeating, "Such a departure as this means a sure return!"

What would this crowd have said if it had known of the prince's magnificent protest, in which he makes the heart of his country vibrate by pointing out the approaching day of restitution?

The weather was splendid, but the sea was rough, and the steamer, which was going at full speed, rolled considerably. The distance between Tréport and Dover is seventy miles, but the *Victoria*, going at full

speed, made seventeen knots an hour, and the land soon disappeared on the horizon.

The comte de Paris then invited his companions to go down into the saloon, in order that he might communicate to them his protest, which he had considered it his duty to address to the French people, and which he had taken measures to distribute the next day throughout the whole of France.

M. Dufeulle, a young, active man had been entrusted with this duty, which prevented his being at Tréport, on June 24th. Formerly head of M. Buffet's cabinet, M. Dufeulle had shown perfect tact, and great political ability in the discharge of his duties; the comte de Paris had found in him a clever, faithful servant, of great intelligence, devoted to the prince to whose person he was attached, and one who knew how to make his royal master beloved.

M. Dufeulle was formerly editor of the *Journal des Débats* and the *Français*, and writes admirably, elucidating every question with the greatest clearness. He has arrived rapidly at a thorough knowledge of human nature, and this, combined with his easy manner, his straightforwardness and frankness, makes up a character which the prince appreciates highly. He is a man who, at the risk of displeasing the prince, will always tell him the truth if he considers it for the prince's interest to know it—a precious quality which reflects as much credit on the subject who is brave enough to speak the truth, as on the prince who is noble enough to listen to it.

No one, not even those nearest to the comte de Paris, knew of this protest, which was listened to in

religious silence, and made a deep impression ; the vigorous, vibrating voice of the prince seemed to awaken hope and courage in the hearts of all.

The protest is as follows :—

“ Forced to leave my native soil, I protest in the name of right against the violence done to me.

“ Passionately devoted to my country, whose misfortunes have endeared her all the more to me, I have lived until now without infringing any of her laws. At the very moment that I return to France happy in having formed a new tie between her and a friendly nation, Government decides to tear me from her.

“ In expelling me they are revenging themselves on the four and half millions of those who, on October 4th, condemned the faults of the Republic, and they are endeavouring to intimidate those who, each day, are falling away from her.

“ They pursue in me the principle of monarchy, entrusted to me by him who had so nobly guarded it.

“ They desire to separate from France the head of that glorious family, who for nine centuries has directed the work of national unity, and which, bound up in the good as well as the evil fortune of the people, has founded her grandeur and prosperity.

“ They hope that France will have forgotten the happy, peaceful reign of my grandfather, Louis Philippe, and the more recent days when my brother and my uncles fought beneath her flag, serving loyally in the ranks of her valiant army.

“ But they deceive themselves.

“ France, taught by experience, will never mistake

either the cause or the authors of the evils from which she is suffering, She will recognise that monarchy, with its traditional principles and its modern institutions, can alone supply the needed remedy. National monarchy, of which I am the representative, can alone render powerless those disorderly spirits which threaten the peace of the country, guarantee political and religious liberty, re-assert authority and restore public fortune.

"It alone can give to our democratic society a strong government open to all, superior to party spirit, and whose stability will be the guarantee to Europe of a lasting peace.

"It is my duty to promote without ceasing this work of restoration. With the help of God, and of all those who share my belief in the future, I shall accomplish it.

"The Republic is afraid, and proves it by striking at me.

"I have confidence in France. At the decisive moment I shall be ready.

"PHILIPPE, COMTE DE PARIS.

"*Eu, June 24, 1886.*"

At 7.15, in spite of the roughness of the sea, the *Victoria* arrived within sight of Dover, and, as she came alongside the pier, the French colours were run up in honour of the exiles, while the vessels at anchor also hoisted the tricolor. Although the *Victoria* had arrived much earlier than had been expected, there was a considerable crowd, and the comte de Paris was greeted with three tremendous hurrahs.

The Mayor of Dover and his wife, who held a bouquet in her hand, were the first to go on board, and the mayor presented the following address of welcome to the prince :—

“ MONSEIGNEUR,

“ As mayor of this ancient town and port, I beg to offer to you and the comtesse de Paris and to your family the most cordial welcome on your arrival on English soil ; and I am happy in being able to assure you of the sympathy of all the inhabitants in the sad circumstances which have brought about your exile, and have obliged you to seek refuge in a foreign land.

“ We hope that it is your intention to stay in England ; we will do our utmost to make your stay amongst us as agreeable as possible during the time of trial and trouble which you have to go through. We beg you to accept the assurance of our profound respect.”

The comte de Paris replied in English :—

“ I am deeply grateful for your welcome at the present moment, when my heart is torn by my departure from my country.

“ My family, at different times, and I myself for a period of twenty years, have proved the loyalty of your hospitality, of which I cherish a most grateful recollection.

“ What has touched me more than anything is the sight of the French flag flying at your masts ; it goes straight to my heart as do also your hearty cheers.”

M and Mdme. Alexandre Lambert de St. Croix

had been the next arrivals on board the steamer, and it was from them that the comte de Paris received his first French greeting in a foreign country.

The royal party went to the Lord Warden Hotel, where the princes remained for some days before going on to Tunbridge Wells.

As they were leaving the hotel to accompany the comtesse de Paris to the boat which was to take her back to Calais, the prince went into the sitting room reserved for them, and was rendered speechless with emotion by the sight of the tricolor flag covering a sofa in the middle of the room. It was the same flag which had been floating from the mast of the *Victoria* during the crossing, and which Captain Stubbs, with touching attention, had placed in the room during the absence of the prince. The comte de Paris seized the flag and exclaimed in a voice of deep emotion, "This flag is all that remains to me of my beloved France; I will take it back there." The comtesse de Paris then took one of the bouquets which had been presented to her on her departure and placed it at the foot of the flag.

The princess, uneasy about the health of princess Louise, was anxious to return to the bedside of the beloved invalid, in spite of the misery which a separation from her husband at such a moment must have caused her. That same evening she left the Lord Warden Hotel, accompanied to the boat by her family, and all those who were with them.

The duc de Chartres returned with her to France, leaving his son, prince Henri, as companion to the young duc d'Orléans for a few days.

The comte de Paris had thus to begin his exile under the most painful circumstances, and a sorrowful separation concluded a day already so full of trials and grief.

Those who were to return to France, and those who were to remain in a foreign country, realized to the full the bitterness of exile as they stood on the steamer which was to bear the comtesse de Paris, the duc de Chartres, and their faithful friends away from the comte de Paris.

That morning in France the parting had been between a king and his people, and the enthusiasm of the crowds had for a moment brought consolation to the hearts of the exiles ; but that evening, in England, on the pier, in the midst of strangers, the anguish of separation was felt to the uttermost.

The comte de Paris said a few kind words of farewell to each and all, then, after tenderly embracing the comtesse de Paris, and grasping for the last time the hand of the duc de Chartres, the prince, accompanied by three or four of his faithful followers, sorrowfully mounted the steps, at the bottom of which the steamer was moored, ready to start. The comtesse de Paris clasps the duc d'Orléans once more in her arms, he follows his father and the boat starts amidst shouts of "Au revoir ! à bientôt, Monseigneur !" from those who were returning to France. For some moments the prince stood motionless gazing after the boat in which were all the friends who, more fortunate than himself, were returning to France.

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The deep impression produced in France by the

departure of the comte de Paris and his arrival in the land of exile was felt throughout Europe. Not only had the prince published an eloquent protest against the injustice done to him, but he had, in a few lines, sketched out a whole programme of Government. Even the republicans themselves could not fail to recognise the noble and patriotic character of the language used by the chief of the House of France. Those who were present at his departure from Tréport were witnesses of a grand scene in our history. M. de Freycinet, in his speech, had unwittingly declared the comte de Paris to be king; the immense crowd which had followed him to the ship had converted his exile into a coronation. All ranks of society had met together at Eu, from the highest to the lowest, workmen, fishermen, women, children—all were inspired by the one feeling. Surely that was a spectacle of royalty suited to our democratic society.

In his manifesto the comte de Paris proves that he can combine the claims of democracy with those of authority. France knows that she has every reason to trust him, for he personifies her future!—she knows it, and she herself will be equally true to her duty.

The prince possesses a quick apprehension. At the time of his protest of June 24th, he was talking to some friends who had joined him from France, and one of them expressed his astonishment to find in the protest an allusion to the comte de Chambord. The prince made the following reply, which was repeated to me the next day :—

“During the whole of my life I have only accom

plished two political acts; the first at Frohsdorf, August 5, 1873, the second, July 7, 1883, when the comte de Chambord, clasping me to his heart, said, with an emotion that I fully shared, 'You know what a precious trust I confide to you!' . . . I did not wish for the sake of a vain popularity to pass over in silence the name of the head of my House, when I was addressing France for the first time." . . .

I shall content myself with quoting two out of the many articles published in various papers on this occasion. One from the *Soleil*, by M. Edouard Hervé, the other from the *Standard*. M. Hervé expresses himself as follows in an article entitled the "Heir":—

"The iniquitous measure which tears the head of France from French soil is accomplished!

"Yesterday, the comte de Paris, after hoisting the national colours on the mast of the steamer which was to convey him to England, crossed the channel. The exile has begun, but it will be short!

"Yes, it will be short; we have a proof of this in the constantly increasing opposition to a government which is violent because it is weak, and in the three and a half millions of conservatives who will soon become six millions of monarchists.

"We have another proof of it in the crowds of good citizens who came to do homage to the prince, ... either the day before, or at the very moment of his departure, and in the feelings of those who, prevented from taking an active part in this demonstration, joined heartily with it in spirit. We have finally

another proof of it in the manly sentence with which the prince concludes his manifesto.

"He is ready for the decisive hour, he has confidence in France and she has confidence in him. She already feels, and will feel every day more and more, that, outside the monarchy, personified by him, there is no chance of finding that repose which she needs after so much agitation.

"In order to reconcile the various factions of the great French family, separated by years of discord, it was necessary to find one who would be in a position to give the desired satisfaction to both parties. He must represent ancient and modern monarchy, therefore he must be at the same time the successor of the comte de Chambord, and the representative of Louis Philippe; he must be able to rally round him disaffected republicans, and disheartened imperialists, consequently he must combine the claims of democracy and authority.

"These conditions might appear to be irreconcilable, but they are all united in the person of the comte de Paris; it is, therefore, impossible to be blind to the fact that in him is embodied the future of France. Our adversaries realize this as well as we do, hence their irritation, hence their violent measures, hence the bill of exile.

"When a government is approaching its end, there is always a man, a family, a political system ready to take its place.

"An heir to the Republic will soon be needed. Amongst those who think, and who study the future, there are surely none, who, observing the conduct of

the comte de Paris during the last three years, and the unparalleled situation in which he is now placed, will not exclaim 'Behold the heir!'

"The Republic has not only ceased for a long time to be conservative, she has put it out of her power to become conservative again. Honest men have a right to be protected. They know that in the hour of danger they will be abandoned by a government which does but capitulate in presence of evil passions; they will have nothing to do with such a government.

"France desires order. The Republic can no longer guarantee the maintenance of order. Monarchy alone can ensure it."

The following is from the *Standard*:—

"Yesterday an illustrious guest landed on our shores, and was welcomed with a respect and cordiality worthy of him and of ourselves. England has always been the refuge for celebrated exiles of every nationality, but we may truly say that never has our hospitality been offered to any political exile with half the eagerness that is shown on the present occasion to the heir of one of the most ancient thrones of Europe, to the representative of the grand old houses of Bourbon, Condé, Valois, and Orléans, to the prince in whose veins flows the blood of a long race of kings. This brave and honourable gentleman, who has shown himself worthy on every occasion of the great name he bears, has been driven from his country, and has been forbidden to return under pain of imprisonment. He is obliged to leave France because France—that is to say official France—is afraid of him.

"Such is the humiliating avowal made by the ministers and rulers of the Republic, when they passed the law for the expulsion of the princes. The State does not feel able to assure its safety so long as the princes are in the country. Modern democracy is obliged—like the democracies of old—to have recourse to desperate measures, to ostracism, in order to get rid of a man who is becoming too powerful. . .

"The republicans can do away with royalty, but they cannot do away with the interest which every class in France takes in the representatives of royalty. They cannot prevent the great powers from receiving the princes, and treating them as equals, while they show nothing but politeness to the republican government at the Elysée."

Fifteen months after his unmerited exile, the comte de Paris set forth in the clearest language his "Instructions to the monarchical party in France." On the 15th September, 1887, every town in France was in possession of the following document:—

*"Instructions of Monseigneur le comte de Paris to
the representatives of the monarchical party in
France."*

"Great perils have been succeeded by an apparent calm. The honour of it devolves chiefly on the monarchists of the Chamber. They have understood that their rôle was determined by their numbers. If they were a feeble minority, they would have to confine themselves to energetic and incessant protests; if they were a majority, they would have to take the

responsibility of exercising power. But although sufficiently numerous to have considerable weight in the decisions of the assembly, the direction of affairs is not in their hands. They have, therefore, for the present, only to occupy themselves with the defence of conservative interests and public welfare, without aggravating those political crises only too common in the Republic. This is how they have acted in recent memorable circumstances, and have well deserved the gratitude of conservative France.

“But this apparent calm does but ill conceal the perils of the future. The electoral considerations which govern a Chamber, itself all powerful, sterilize all the efforts made with a view to restoring order in the finances.

“The instability of the executive completely isolates France from Europe. Material tranquillity is barely assured. Everywhere faction triumphs over and oppresses the nation, and no one knows what the next day may bring forth.

“This situation imposes other duties on the monarchical party in the country. Not being fettered before the nation as they are in Parliament by a limited mandate, they have a broader task to fulfil. They have to prove to France how necessary a monarchy is to her, and how easily its restoration might be accomplished ; they have to reassure her as to the entirely imaginary dangers of the restoration, and prove to her that the transition can be legally effected. In vain has the Congress proclaimed the eternity of the Republic. What has been done by one Congress can be undone by another ; and when France

clearly manifests her will, no obstacle of procedure will prevent the restoration of monarchy.

“ Taught, however, by melancholy experience, the country has little belief in legal and regular transformations in its political conditions. Its history unhappily furnishes it with many reasons to foresee one of those violent crises, which seem to have assumed a periodic character in our national life. If such a crisis arise, monarchy may and should emerge from it. But it will not have provoked it. The crisis will be the work of certain republicans, either because popular passions and sufferings, worked upon by criminal ambitions, will lead to civil troubles, or because a political faction will have recourse to force to seize supreme power. The day when legality has been violated, the monarchy will appear as the necessary instrument of the restoration of order, and the pledge of concord.

“ But it is well for France to know beforehand what that monarchy will be. The moment is favourable for telling her, and for apprising her that it will not mark a retrograde step. She must be shown that the principle of historic tradition, with its marvellous suppleness, can adapt itself to modern institutions ; that it will bring to the government of our democratic society the steadying element which is lacking under the republican system ; that it will play in that society a *rôle* not less efficacious than in the old European monarchies which have peacefully transformed themselves.

“ If the Capet monarchy effected the unity and developed the power of France through all the

vicissitudes of our long history, it was because it had for the origin of its great mission a veritable national compact, a compact concluded in the first moment of that history between those who then represented nascent France, and the family whose fate was to remain bound up with it in bad as in good fortune.

“ To found, after so many revolutions, a government whose basis is firmer and broader than a simple taking possession of power or a delegation of the sovereignty of numbers, it is necessary to revive the historic tradition by a bargain freely agreed to by the nation, and the family which is the depository of that tradition. This mutual engagement consecrating the historic right, and, like all contracts, binding future generations, can alone guarantee both the stability needed by France to restore her rank in Europe, and the true liberty which is, above all, the protection of the weak.

“ This old compact will be recalled into force in the name of France, either by a constitutional assembly, or by the popular vote. By the very fact of its being unused in the monarchy, this latter form is more solemn, and may better befit an act which is not to be repeated. It permits of giving without delay a firm base to the constitution. A government supported by public opinion, as the monarchy will be on the day of its accession, has nothing to fear from this direct consultation of the nation.

“ It is to direct universal suffrage that the choice of deputies ought to belong. Thanks to its early origin and its recent establishment, the monarchy will be

sufficiently strong to reconcile the custom of universal suffrage with the guarantee of order, which the country, disgusted as it is with the Republican system of parliament, will demand of it. The country will desire a strong government, because it clearly understands that even the real parliamentary system, which, under the monarchy, cast so much splendour on the period between 1815 and 1848 is not compatible with an assembly elected by universal suffrage. The mechanism must be modified in order to adapt it to this new and powerful factor. Under the Republic the Chamber governs without control; under the monarchy the king will govern with the concurrence of the Chambers.

“ By the side of the Chamber of Deputies, an equal authority will belong to the Senate, which will be partly elective, and which will unite in itself the representatives of the great forces and interests of society.

“ Between these two assemblies, royalty, having its ministers as interpreters, and able to lean for support on either the one or the other, will be enlightened and guided, but not enslaved.

“ It needs but a modification of our parliamentary system to maintain this equilibrium, and to obviate all exclusive domination of one chamber or the other. The Budget, instead of being voted annually, will be in future an ordinary law, and consequently can only be amended by the agreement of the three powers. Every year the financial project will include only the modifications proposed by the Government on the last Budget. If these proposals are rejected, all the

public services will not be thrown out of gear, nor will private interests be compromised, as they now would be by the rejection of the Budget ; and, meanwhile, real constitutional privileges will be respected, for no new tax can be imposed, no new expense can be determined on, without the consent of the representatives of the nation.

“ To these representatives will also fall the task of fully discussing all the subjects which interest the country, and of listening to all complaints which the action of the Government can relieve. If these complaints are legitimate, the representatives will be the first to give them utterance, and the adhesion of the other assembly will not fail them. But a caprice of the Chamber of Deputies will no longer be able unexpectedly to paralyze public life and national policy.

“ The monarchy will have to re-establish economy in finance, order in administration, and independence in the exercise of justice.

“ The monarchy will have to raise by peaceful means our position in Europe, to make us respected and our alliance sought after by our neighbours. The ministers who serve the monarchy in this great undertaking will not be able to persevere in the realization of its views if they are trammelled by the fear that their efforts may be interrupted by a simple parliamentary accident. They feel themselves set free from such a fear, when they find themselves responsible not to one omnipotent Chamber only, but to the three Estates invested with legislative power. Thus the Deputies, being no longer able to raise to power, or to overthrow ministries, will not exercise that

disastrous influence which is as fatal to the Assembly as to the administration.

“Constitutions are estimated only by the spirit in which they are applied, and France knows this well. It is above all things necessary, therefore, to convince her that the new monarchy will be able to satisfy at once her conservative needs and her passion for equality.

“Under the protection of a monarchical government France may recover, peacefully and by hard work, her former prosperity. Thanks to the confidence which the solidity of her institutions inspires, she will have the authority necessary for treating with foreign powers, and for the simultaneous relief from military burdens, which are at present ruining Europe to the benefit of other quarters of the globe. The monarchy will grant to all religions the protection that an enlightened government owes to all creeds which at once comfort the souls of men in earthly miseries, sustain their hearts, and fortify their courage.

“The monarchy will guarantee to the clergy the respect which is necessary to them for the adequate pursuit of their calling. In restoring to the districts that independence in educational matters of which a tyrannical government has robbed them, the monarchy will restore to France the freedom of a Christian education. The monarchy will restore to religion, as well as to secular institutions, that liberty, which, under certain conditions of public order, will become the common right of all French people, instead of being, as is the case to-day, the privilege of a few. Thus that religious peace will be established,

which has been deeply troubled by an intolerant policy.

“The monarchy will shelter military traditions from the fluctuations of politics, by giving the army a single and immovable head. The fixity of the command-in-chief will ensure, as a necessary consequence, the permanence of discipline in all ranks.

“The stability of a monarchical government will enable it to apply itself uninterruptedly to the study of the problem raised by the condition of our industrial population of town and country, and to work for the amelioration of their lot and the mitigation of their sufferings. So far from inciting one against the other the different classes who co-operate in producing the national wealth, it will endeavour to reconcile them, and thus to bring about social pacification.

“In our society, always in process of transformation, a short period of sixteen years has seen the rise, from the hamlet to the capital, of what republicans have called the great “nouvelles couches.” New men have come in great numbers to conquer a share of the influence they did not possess. They would have acquired that influence under any other government, for this legitimate progress of their condition is the fruit of the blessing of education, and of the slow ascent which, through the centuries of our history, has drawn together the different classes of society. But, though they fancy that they owe it to the Republic, they will continue to enjoy it equally, as they should fully understand, under the ægis of monarchy.

“The maintenance of universal suffrage for all exist-

ing elective functions, and for the appointment of mayors by the municipal council in the rural communes will be their chief guarantee.

“ So also the unpretending servants of the State who have gained the position by their industry, will not be menaced because of their holding that position from the Republic. If, on the one hand, all the victims of republican persecution are assured of receiving the ample reparation which is their due, on the other hand, the dishonest and unworthy servants who degrade their office, will alone have to fear the accession of an honest and just power.

“ The monarchy will not be the revenge of a victorious or a vanquished party, or the triumph of one class over another. By raising above all rivalry the depository of the Executive power, it renders him the supreme guardian of the law, before which all will be equal.

“ Let henceforth all good citizens, all patriots, whose hopes have been disappointed, whose interests have been compromised, and whose consciences have been wounded by the existing system, join with the labourers of the first hour in preparing the common salvation ! Let them second the efforts of him who will be at once the king of all, and the first servant of France ! ”

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A programme thus clearly defined needs no commentary. No misunderstanding is possible. The head of the House of France addresses himself to all good citizens, to former defenders of monarchy, to conservatives, whether wavering or indifferent, and to republicans deceived in their hopes. He summons them

all to join him in the renovation of their country. No honest person can read these "Instructions" without being struck by the nobility of the views, the breadth of ideas, and the practical methods indicated by the comte de Paris in this effort to rally round his government all Frenchmen who are anxious to restore a régime which alone is capable of assuring public order and national grandeur.

Faithful to the glorious memories of his ancestors, the Kings of France—from Hugh Capet, Louis VI., who enfranchised the communes, St. Louis, who gave the justly celebrated "Institutions," to Louis XI., Henri IV., Louis XIV., Louis XVIII. and Louis Philippe—the comte de Paris (just nine centuries after Hugh Capet) gives his judgment on the new monarchy best suited to France in 1887.

One of the greatest merits and glories of monarchy is that, like society, it is always changing from age to age. The prince knows that France would not stand either absolute monarchy, or a monarchy entirely under the rule of parliament. What she wants is not brute force, but a wise, firm, resolute hand, that knows how to hold the reins without feebleness and with authority. Hence the comte de Paris, with a boldness never possessed by a mere pretender, proposes to France a monarchy, hereditary and constitutional, powerful and liberal, which should strengthen its historic title by a national contract, not favouring any particular class, but applying itself to social pacification, and which, finally, while leaving to democracy its power of expansion, should so limit its action as to assure the stability of the State.

From one end of France to the other, the impression produced by these "Instructions" was immense. At first the republicans affected an indifference, which was soon belied by venomous articles, in which rage and anxiety were plainly visible. One of them, however, declared that this was the most important document that had appeared since 1848. Most of them knew in their hearts that the time is at hand when France, wearied and disgusted with this régime devoid of dignity and security, will throw off the yoke which is ruining them.

They are alarmed by the defections which they see each day increasing amongst them, they own that the struggle has become simplified, that there now remain two governments face to face with each other—the Republic, forced to become daily more violent, more Jacobin; and Royalty, the protector of the rights of all, a strong power in a free country, enforcing everywhere respect for law and order.

Even abroad the "Instructions" made a great stir. Many of those sovereigns who had a high regard for the comte de Paris, were far from suspecting his brilliant qualities as head of the state, and the prince found that he had achieved a great personal success throughout Europe.

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Our task is finished. We have tried to make known the varied, many-sided life of the comte de Paris, of that prince who has been so well described as follows: "Though in touch with every modern movement, he represents the past, and being heir to

sixty monarchs, presents himself before his country and the world in the brilliant light of those great and glorious deeds by which his ancestors have made France famous."

One thought forces itself upon us after reading the beautiful life of the comte de Paris from February 24th, 1848, the day when the throne of his grandfather Louis-Philippe was wrested from him by the most unjustifiable of insurrections; it is impossible to help being struck by the ardent patriotism which has guided the prince throughout his whole life. Love of study, perseverance in work, a passion for the profession of arms—such are the qualities which distinguish the head of the House of France. As a writer he devotes himself to the most important social questions, and is French to the backbone. He invariably shows a complete forgetfulness of self, as for instance, in 1873, when he effaced himself for the sake of the comte de Chambord; and, in every place, under all circumstances, his life has been actuated by one motive alone—the interest of his country which he loves so passionately.

M. Thiers being dead, the Prince Imperial having fallen a noble victim to his own generosity and chivalry, M. Gambetta (whose sole object was to make himself the head of a powerful Republic), having been removed, finally the comte de Chambord having expired, after preserving so long intact the sacred trust of traditional, hereditary monarchy, does it not seem as though Providence were holding in reserve for the salvation of the country this prince who, by his tastes, his education and his character, is

in entire harmony with the aspirations of our democratic society ?

The grandson of King Louis-Philippe will be truly the King of the French. A King at whose accession to the throne there will be neither conqueror nor conquered ; a king who can be welcomed alike by workmen and employers, by bourgeois and nobles, by disappointed republicans, by legitimists mourning the comte de Chambord, and by Bonapartists mourning the Prince Imperial. The will of the nation and the will of God will thus combine to restore monarchy, and through the monarchy to restore France.

France, which had been so deeply affected by the noble and touching adieu of June 24th, 1886, welcomed with joy and grateful admiration the "Instructions," and now one hears everywhere "Yes, that is indeed the sort of king we want." Light is breaking in the towns as well as in the country.

The Republic wounds the affections of the peasant by sending his sons to shed their blood in Tonquin ; it attacks his interests by increasing taxation ; now, at its last gasp, it can no longer deny the unprecedented extravagance in our finances, which were in so prosperous a condition when Marshal MacMahon quitted the office in which the conservatives had placed him. Universal suffrage will throw off the yoke of the republicans who are ruining the country.

They may try to falsify votes, to begin another "18 fructidor," by overturning the decisions of the country by force—all that matters little. There is no example of a people, trodden down, oppressed in

its legitimate aspirations, which does not in the end recover its liberty.

At last the nation, profiting by the progress and experience of the past, will rejoice once more in that wise and faithful liberty which was formerly her strength, and will welcome the King of France, who, repairing the accumulated ruins of a hundred years of revolution, will restore to the country the prestige of hereditary monarchy, and with it peace, prosperity, and real grandeur.

THE END.

ways, je proteste, au nom de
l'Éte.

que des malheurs m'ont rendu
ent, vécu sans enfreindre les
le moment où je viens d'y
un mouvement de la France et

moi des trois millions et demi
né les fautes de la République
ni, chaque jour, se le font

monarchie dont le dépôt m'a
Cyprien Comte de Paris

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